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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE EMERGENCE OF INDIVIDUALITY AS EXEMPLIFIED
IN NINE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GERMAN-LANGUAGE AUTOBIOGRAPHERS

BY



FREDRIC S. STEUSSY

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

GERMAN LITERATURE
DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1988

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Fredric Steussy
2405 Mission Street
Eugene, Oregon, USA, 97403

April 27, 1988

Wir lieben nur das Individuelle; daher die große Freude an Vorträgen, Bekenntnissen, Memoiren, Briefen und Anekdoten abgeschiedener, selbst unbedeutender Menschen.

Die Frage: ob einer seine eigene Biographie schreiben dürfe, ist höchst ungeschickt. Ich halte den, der es thut, für den höflichsten aller Menschen.

Goethe

Man kann die Berühmten nicht verstehen, wenn man die Obskuren nicht durchgeföhlt hat.

Grillparzer

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Emergence of Individuality as Exemplified in Nine Eighteenth-Century German-Language Autobiographers" submitted by Fredric S. Steussy in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Eugene Egert
.....
for Dr. A. Scott-Prelowitzos
(Supervisor)

Gerrit Marahrens
.....
Dr. G. Marahrens

R. J. Merrett
.....
Dr. R. J. Merrett

Norman Henn
.....
Dr. M. Henn

Mark Boulby
.....
Dr. M. Boulby
(External Examiner)

Date *April 20th 1988*
.....

DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

This dissertation traces the emergence of the modern concept of individuality as exemplified in nine eighteenth-century German-language autobiographies. Central to the concept of individuality, which is based in part on Karl J. Weintraub's book, The Value of the Individual (1978), is that one attempts to understand oneself not merely in terms of rank and role in society, but also by identifying and conveying the conjuncture of socio-historical factors and individual psychological characteristics which make each person unique. These nine autobiographers, Peter Prosch (1744-1800), Johann Christian Brandes (1755-1799), C. F. D. Schubart (1739-1791), C. F. Laukhard (1757-1822), Salomon Maimon (1763-1800), K. F. Bahrdt (1741-1792), Ulrich Bräker (1735-1798) and Karl Philipp Moritz (1756-1793), are discussed in the order in which they display the emergence of the modern understanding of individuality. The authors are divided into three groups of three. The first three, Prosch, Brandes and Schubart, are the most tied to the older concepts of identification with a role. The second three, Laukhard, Maimon and Seume, have a largely 'monolithic' concept of self, defining themselves largely in terms of a single characteristic. Each of them, in

different ways, conceives of the self largely in terms of Enlightenment Rationalism. The authors of the third group convey the most modern, multi-faceted view of the self which displays more fully the individuality of the autobiographer. The Swiss Ulrich Bräker, for example, gives evidence of the latent conflict in his mind between his Pietist upbringing and his self-education in secular Enlightenment authors. But in particular, the autobiographical novel, Anton Reiser, written by the last author to be discussed, K. P. Moritz, has been termed a 'delicate seismograph' of such complex and conflicting late eighteenth-century impulses as Pietism and Enlightenment, Storm and Stress, the Age of Sentiment, German Classicism, and incipient Romanticism. It renders the adolescent turmoil of a sensitive and morbid youth coming to grips with these and other historical factors which comprised the experiences of his generation. In so doing, he mirrors both the age and his individuality.

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I. The Problem of Definition

It would be comforting indeed if this study, which concerns itself with particular autobiographies, could begin with a clear, precise definition of the general term "autobiography," a term which allowed us to include all items we felt belonged to autobiography, and to exclude all items we felt might be something else. But like many words employed in literary criticism, "autobiography" is much easier to use than to define. Attempts to delineate what is properly autobiography vary greatly, and a few writers have dismissed efforts at definition as impractical. Some critics assert that, in a sense, all we know (or claim to know) is autobiographical. For example, James Olney, a leading figure in modern autobiographical criticism, writes, "all knowledge is real only in autobiography...the poetic-autobiographical metaphor...is sufficient for psychology, history, philosophy and cosmology."¹ And, indeed, Olney's major study, Metaphors of Self (1972), discusses as autobiography not only such conventional and easily recognizable attempts at self-depiction as the autobiographies of Mill and Darwin, but also the Four Quartets of Eliot and the entire works of Jung.² In the same work, Olney maintains that "definition of autobiography as a literary genre seems to me virtually impossible, because the definition must either include so much as to be no definition, or to exclude so

much as to deprive us of the most relevant texts."³ And the writer of a recent dissertation on contemporary German-language autobiography likewise considers definition beyond her ken: "A precise definition as to what criteria to use in order to designate a book as 'autobiography' or 'autobiographical' would in itself necessitate a new poetics of the genre, and this study does not pretend to accomplish this."⁴

On the other hand, some students of the genre have not hesitated to mark out with considerable rigour the confines of autobiography. Ralph-Rainer Wuthenow limits 'true' autobiography to a very strict form of presentation. Montaigne is excluded from the ranks because his only concern is "sich selbst zu schildern;" he makes no attempt at "erinnernde Darstellung...Vergegenwärtigung des Vergangenen wie in der eigentlichen Autobiographie" [my emphasis].⁵ Many other examples of prescriptive definitions of autobiography could be given. For Roy Pascal, the writer of "the autobiography proper...must interpret his life from a particular standpoint";⁶ for Bernd Neumann, autobiography depicts only "das Leben des noch nicht sozialisierten Menschen";⁷ everything else is not autobiography but memoir. Such definitions are (sometimes) in effect useless, for, in an attempt to be precise in their delineation of the genre, they often end up excluding works which traditionally are accepted without question into the autobiographical canon. For example, Goethe's Dichtung und Wahrheit and Gibbon's Memoirs are generally regarded as classics of

autobiography. But by the foregoing definitions one might have to exclude Dichtung und Wahrheit because Goethe's "particular standpoint" is not so self-evident and fixed as the definition (strictly interpreted) might demand, since the work was composed over a period of twenty years. And Neumann's definition would exclude Gibbon, who does not omit from his autobiography the story of his "socialization": his choice of a career, his entrance into polite society, his emergence as a public figure of some stature, and so on.

Such over-zealousness reminds one that a definition should be a tool, not an end in itself. Writing about the futility of attempting to arrive at a Platonic ideal for either autobiography or memoir, Karl J. Weintraub observes: "Ideal types...are as heuristic devices, as merely conceptual tools, always purer than the complex reality they are meant to explore. If they prove useful in sorting out the complexities of the real-world fine! continue to use them; if you reify them, you commit an intellectual sin of the first order."⁸

But should definitions be dispensed with? While Weintraub is critical of any tendency to view abstractions as concrete, the phrase "sorting out the complexities of the real world" indicates that definitions, properly employed, can be useful. Discussing this problem in a recent article, Candace Lang distinguishes between quixotic and more practical attempts at definition, and

suggests that the critic should explain, for the sake of clarity, how he or she is going to use the term: "While some critics... have quite rightly remarked that any attempt to arrive at an absolute and universal definition of the 'genre' (as though there were a Form for it) is chimerical, one might reasonably expect each critic to justify his own use of the term, giving guidelines for inclusions of works in, or their exclusion from, the category of autobiography."⁹

What follows, then, is not "the" definition of autobiography, but only a clarification of what the present writer means by the term. Particularly important, in my opinion, is the attempt to distinguish between autobiography and some other types of writing about the self. If the following distinctions appear unsophisticated, they have two interrelated advantages: 1) the use of the terms in this way is justified by current conservative critical practice (as will be shown), and 2) the terms' definitions are not, as some definitions have been, fabricated to fit a particular theory about the genre.¹⁰

In order to arrive at a clearer understanding of what is usually meant by autobiography or "autobiography proper,"¹¹ it will be useful to distinguish autobiography from the memoir and the journal or diary. The following distinctions, though elementary, were not always made by early students of the genre, as has been pointed out.¹² The diary or journal, of course, is unique among

these forms in that it is written directly during the course of events, and not in the light of subsequent developments. A diary or journal is naturally autobiographical in content, but it does not constitute an autobiography. As Pascal observes: "The formal difference between diary and autobiography is obvious. The latter is a review of a life from a particular moment in time, while the diary, however reflective it may be, moves through a series of moments in time."¹³ Georges Gusdorf also describes the difference between the two, perhaps even more clearly: "The author of a private journal, noting his impressions and mental states from day to day, fixes the portrait of his daily reality without any concern for continuity. Autobiography, on the other hand, requires a man to take a distance with regard to himself in order to reconstitute himself in the focus of his special unity and identity across time."¹⁴ Such observations as these are necessary, for the skilled autobiographer, by writing of the recalled event with vividness and immediacy, may make the reader temporarily forget the narrator's distance from it.

With the exception of Neumann, who would like to separate entirely memoir, as an account of the individual as "Träger einer sozialen Rolle," from autobiography, which describes "das Leben des noch nicht sozialisierten Menschen,"¹⁵ most critics have taken the view that no absolute and final distinction between the two can be made--"no clean line can be drawn."¹⁶ However, there is little disagreement as to what the distinction is. "In

the autobiography proper," writes Pascal, "the attention is focused on the self, in the memoir or reminiscence on others."¹⁷ Similarly, Weintraub asserts, "In memoir external fact is, indeed, translated into conscious experience, but the eye of the writer is focused less on the inner experience than on the external fact."¹⁸ That this distinction may be taken for granted is demonstrated by Georges May, who eschews formal definition, and observes that authors who wrote "primarily in an effort to bear witness to what they had seen and heard...were motivated as memoir-writers," while those who wrote "out of the urge to express their intimate personalities...wrote as autobiographers."¹⁹

Having considered these distinctions, one finds that certain similarities in modern definitions of autobiography are thrown into higher relief. Those few modern critics who have ventured a definition generally insist that the autobiography be backward-looking, or centre on the personality, or both. Barrett Mandell defines autobiography as "a retrospective account of a man's whole life (or a significant part of it) written as avowed truth and for a specific purpose by the man who lived the life."²⁰ Pascal says of "autobiography proper" that it "involves the reconstruction of the movement of a life, or part of a life, in the actual circumstances in which it was lived. Its centre of interest is the self, not the outside world...."²¹ Perhaps the best definition, that of Philippe Lejeune, combines these criteria: "Récit retrospectif en prose qu'une personne réelle fait

de sa propre existence, lorsqu'elle met l'accent sur sa vie individuelle, en particulier sur l'histoire de sa personnalité."²²

The usefulness of these definitions and distinctions will be made apparent when we turn to the works themselves. Perhaps here it is enough to point out that an emphasis on the "inner life" or "personality" appears to be important to the modern concept of autobiography, and that, although individual works may be hard to classify, by and large modern autobiography is distinct from memoir. Also, these distinctions allow us to examine writings about the self more critically than we might have otherwise done. For instance, Ulrich Bräker's later Tagebücher pick up where his autobiography leaves off, but it would be more accurate to say that they continue his life story rather than his autobiography, since the diary entries necessarily lack the fixed viewpoint from which the autobiography surveyed the previous segment of his life. Should Magister Laukhard's Leben und Schicksale be considered autobiography, or is the admixture of memoir material too great? But before applying our distinctions and categories to the works themselves, we must briefly review the history of modern criticism of autobiography.

A Brief Survey of Criticism of Autobiography

Before proceeding to the aim and method of the current study, let us outline the development of modern criticism of autobiography,

beginning approximately at the turn of the century. The direction taken by criticism of autobiography has been described similarly by three different contemporary critics. William Spengemann, writing in his study The Forms of Autobiography (1980), puts it succinctly when he observes: "One can discern in the criticism written over the past fifty years or so a shift of emphasis from the biographical and historical facts recorded in an autobiography, to the psychological states expressed in the text, to the workings of the text itself...."²³ In similar fashion, Sandra Frieden, in her 1983 dissertation, traces a progression in criticism of autobiography from a concern with "trying to establish degrees and criteria of truthfulness" in autobiographies, towards a psychologically-oriented line of inquiry, which "attempted to formulate a typography of autobiographical form as shaped by a specific type of creative consciousness," and finally to a textual approach, which examined autobiography "as a primarily literary form [and] concentrated on the linguistic dynamics present between text and reader...."²⁴ James Olney, in his 1980 collection of essays, Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical, omits mention of the last state, but observes with approval the change of emphasis from the facts of a life to its psychology: "The shift of attention from bios to autos--from the life to the self--was, I believe largely responsible for opening things up and turning them in a philosophical, psychological, and literary direction."²⁵

The observations made by these critics do indeed stand up under examination. Twentieth-century criticism of autobiography may be said to begin with Georg Misch, author of the monumental Geschichte der Autobiographie (four volumes, published 1907-1956). This four-thousand page work is more often respectfully referred to than extensively read.²⁶ As a student and the son-in-law of Wilhelm Dilthey, Misch was primarily interested in autobiography as a document of intellectual history (Geistesgeschichte), rather than as a specifically literary phenomenon. For Dilthey, the life of the individual was the "Urzelle der Geschichte,"²⁷ and thus the historical facts of a life, rather than the psychology of the self, were of primary importance. As Frieden points out, the emphasis on the life itself casts a rather didactic light on the reading of autobiography: "the individual lives and life struggles were seen as sources of inspiration and instruction...."²⁸

Other early studies also stress the historical and the exemplary. Theodor Klaiber, in Die deutsche Selbstbiographie (1920), considered the autobiography of particular interest "für den Seelen- und Geschichtsforscher,"²⁹ and Marianne Beyer-Fröhlich (Die Entwicklung der deutschen Selbstzeugnisse, 1930) envisioned her study as chronicling "den Wandel in der Seelenlage des deutschen Menschen."³⁰ The didactic-historical view of autobiography is best represented in the first three decades of the century, but as late as 1968 an American critic, Stephen Shapiro, wrote, "The value of the autobiographical tradition, its relevance to our

lives, lies in its capacity to furnish us with models and mirrors that can help us accept, celebrate, and transform our lives as individuals...."³¹

But by the time this article appeared, most criticism of autobiography had moved into a more modern phase emphasizing not autobiography's exemplariness, but its psychology, primarily the psychology of the relation of the telling self to the told-about self. It is on this ground, for the most part, that the contemporary discussion of autobiography has its foundation. Although aware of Misch and other early studies, James Olney is of the opinion that "theoretical and critical literature about autobiography...began, in effect, in 1956,"³² a reference to an article published in that year by Georges Gusdorf, "Conditions et limites de l'autobiographie."³³ "In the beginning," writes Olney "then, was Georges Gusdorf."³⁴ To be sure, Gusdorf does not ignore the historical: in the first section of his essay, he carefully outlines the historical conditions which he believes are necessary for the emergence of autobiography. The second section, however, is given over to a psychological discussion of how autobiography "effects a true creation of the self by the self," how it "turns back on the life and affects it by a kind of boomerang,"³⁵ as the following anecdote--in a trivial yet touching way--demonstrates.

One of Lamartine's finest autobiographical poems, "La vigne et la maison," evokes the house in Milly in which the poet was born, the façade of which is decorated with a garland of woodbine. An historian has discovered that there was no vine growing against the house in Milly during the poet's childhood; only much later, after the poem was written and in order to reconcile poetry and truth, did Madame de Lamartine have a climbing vine planted. The anecdote is symbolic: in autobiography the truth of the facts is subordinate to the truth of the man, for ³⁶ it is first of all the man who is in question.

Another work with a similar psychological approach is Roy Pascal's Design and Truth in Autobiography (1960). In addition to other contributions, Pascal was one of the first to emphasize psychological elements in the choice of facts presented.

A Darwin may find his "passion for collecting" the outstanding feature of his childhood; Franklin, barren as far as sensuous recollection goes, recalls vividly early practical and moral problems. The unassuming description of Philip Snowdon's Yorkshire childhood is entirely appropriate to his purpose of showing the "formative influences" in this austere community. Quite different methods of presentation are involved according to the distinctive quality of the personality involved; and in each case, more or less subtly, the presentation of the past is controlled by the character of the man writing. ³⁷

Much subsequent criticism has been an extension of such psychologically-oriented insights. Olney, in his earlier work on autobiography, Metaphors of Self, integrates psychology into his theory of the single and double metaphor. Metaphor does not here

indicate choice of words. Rather, authors of "the single metaphor" attempt either to suppress their own subjectivity or to deny the existence of the external world. (Darwin is given as an example of the former tendency, George Fox of the latter.) Authors of "the double metaphor," on the other hand, are able to acknowledge these two facets of existence, and seek to establish an equilibrium or synthesis between inner self and outer existence. In The Value of the Individual (1978), Karl J. Weintraub probes the historical, social, and cultural background of the rise of the modern psyche, the "conditions of self-conscious individuality."³⁸ William Spengemann likewise combines a historical perspective with psychological insights. In the authority-oriented world of early Christian culture (the background of St. Augustine's Confessions), the narrating self, a voice used to reflect age and circumspection, is presented as the possessor of wisdom, and is highly critical of the narrated self. But, as Western culture becomes more secularized, wisdom is depicted with increasing frequency as coming from the perspective and experiences of the narrated self, rather than from the reminiscing narrating self.³⁹ And in her introduction to Women's Autobiography: Essays in Criticism (1980), Estelle C. Jelinek makes some psychologically-oriented suggestions regarding the background of most autobiographers, as well as why women's autobiography sometimes faces a hostile reception in a world favouring male productions.⁴⁰ In German, the most thorough-going psychological approach to autobiography is Bernd Neumann's Identität und

Rollenzwang (1970), which makes an ambitious, if somewhat flawed, attempt to combine Freudian psychoanalytic theory with generic speculations about the nature of memoir and autobiography.

Psychological criticism, emphasizing the autos rather than the bios (to use Olney's terms), sets the tone for much of the current discussion of autobiography. The most recent trend in criticism, however, concentrates upon the text itself, and in many cases with particular attention to the linguistic dynamics between text and reader which produce (for that reader) a meaning. A beginning may be seen in Jean Starobinski's 1971 essay, "The Style of Autobiography," in which he points out (on the strength of Augustine's and Rousseau's Confessions) that the style of at least these autobiographies is quite different from that of a first-person novel, since ostensibly the discourse is addressed to God, and mankind is presented as the "indirect beneficiary of the effusion it has been allowed to witness."⁴¹ In Le pacte autobiographique (1975), Philippe Lejeune also focused his attention on the relationship between writer and reader, arguing that a certain tacit agreement--the autobiographical pact--had to exist between author and reader before a work would be read as an autobiography.⁴² Similarly, Elizabeth Bruss, in Autobiographical Acts: The Changing Situation of a Literary Genre (1976), concentrates on analyzing how "implicit contextual conditions...affect the status of the information contained in the text."⁴³ John Sturrock, in his article, "The New Model Auto-

biographer," suggests that "an autobiography might be the exploration of its author's language rather than his life,"⁴⁴ and this statement neatly summarizes the direction being pursued by this trend in criticism.

It should also be noted that some, though not all, of the newer criticism dealing with textuality and/or linguistic dynamics is hostile to the concept of the self--a concept we shall presently have to examine in some detail. A leading idea of this school of criticism, which has its origins in France and is variously known as post-structuralist or deconstructionist criticism, is that the "I" of autobiography, which exists only in the printed text, has little if any power to refer to something beyond that text. As the French critic and autobiographer Roland Barthes puts it, "The one who speaks (in the narrative) is not the one who writes (in real life), and the one who writes is not the one who is."⁴⁵ This divorce between the "I" on paper and the actual person writing is taken even further by Michel Foucault. In a well-known essay entitled "What is an Author?", Foucault maintains that "today's writing has freed itself from the dimension of expression;" it fulfills its function by "referring only to itself." Foucault argues that "the writing subject cancels out the signs of his particular individuality," and confidently asserts, "criticism and philosophy took note of the disappearance--or death--of the author some time ago."⁴⁶ It is clearly in the vein of this French intellectual tradition that Michael Sprinker, in

"Fictions of the Self: the End of Autobiography?" writes: "The self can no more be an author of its own discourse than any producer of a text can be called the author--that is, the originator --of his writing."⁴⁷

Despite the apodictic tone of these statements, one should not assume that the self no longer exists for anyone, and that discussion of it has been made impossible. We will hardly be able to dispense with it in our discussion of eighteenth-century autobiography, and that it is a necessary concept even for critics of modern, deliberately unconventional; autobiographies is demonstrated by the considerable resistance with which the French school and its adherents have been met. For instance, Sandra Frieden duly notes that "The coherent, historical identity behind autobiographical referential authority ~~has~~ exploded under deconstructionist and linguistic dynamiting."⁴⁸ However, in order to execute her critique of German-language autobiographical writings of the 1970s, she must argue: "The challenges which have been brought to the realm of autobiographical discourse, while appropriate from a philosophical perspective, do not apply here. Intent, truth and identity may well be irretrievable, but human discourse functions according to a set of rules which, in practice, disregards this lack of philosophical footing....we need not try to counter the principle of philosophical indeterminacy. We merely reject it as a theoretical basis for the functioning of the literary act."⁴⁹ And for Olney, too, the idea of the

self seems more enduring and believable than do the objections of these critics: "...I do not think the direction taken in the performances of structuralist, post-structuralist and deconstructionist critics is a revealing one, for however much they talk about genre, or linguistics or deep-lying structures, what they are still troubling about is the self and consciousness or knowledge of it, even though in a kind of bravura some of them may be denying rather than affirming its reality or possibility."⁵⁰ And in the most recent book in the field (Fictions in Autobiography, 1985), Paul John Eakin argues that, if the self is a fiction, it is "one of the most enduring of human illusions... necessary to the conduct of human life as we know it," and that the denial of any referential meaning to the "I" of autobiographical discourse "is clearly disabling."⁵¹

These new approaches, clearly, are highly speculative and the subject of much controversy. The encounter with deconstructionist criticism at least introduces the complexities of the idea of the self, the topic which will conclude this introductory chapter. But before examining the self, we must conclude our survey of criticism of autobiography by taking a closer look at the intended field of study and discussing the book-length critical works which concern themselves either wholly or in part with German autobiography of the eighteenth century.

Works on Eighteenth-Century German Autobiography

The four books which deal either entirely or in large part with eighteenth-century German autobiography are Bernd Neumann's Identität und Rollenzwang (1971), Ralph-Rainer Wuthenow's Das erinnerte Ich (1974), Klaus-Detlef Müller's Autobiographie und Roman (1976), and Günther Niggel's Geschichte der deutschen Autobiographie im 18. Jahrhundert (1977). They will be discussed in chronological order.

In Identität und Rollenzwang, Bernd Neumann combines Freudian psychology with a sociological perspective primarily influenced by David Riesman's The Lonely Crowd (1950) to provide a psychological and historical account of German autobiography. According to Freudian theory, the human psyche is composed of the id (Es), ego (Ich), and superego (Über-ich). It is the job of the ego to mediate between the drives of the id and the demands of the culture surrounding the individual (represented by the superego). When this mediation is successful, the individual has attained identity, according to Neumann: "Ein optimales und konfliktfreies Zusammenspiel dieser drei psychischen Instanzen verleiht dem Individuum Identität. Dieser Terminus...meint die Übereinstimmung des Einzelwesens mit sich und seiner Gesellschaft. Die Entwicklung solcher Identität steht im Mittelpunkt der bürgerlichen, ihrem Wesen nach entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Autobiographie."⁵² The development of this identity, in fact, leads

directly to the strict genre-distinction Neumann makes between memoir and autobiography: "Wenn die Memoiren das Ergehen eines Individuums als Träger einer sozialen Rolle schildern, so beschreibt die Autobiographie das Leben des noch nicht sozialisierten Menschen, die Geschichte seines Werdens und seiner Bildung seines Hineinwachsens in die Gesellschaft. Memoiren setzen eigentlich erst mit dem Erreichen der Identität, mit der Übernahme der sozialen Rolle ein, die Autobiographie endet dort."⁵³

Neumann provides his basically Freudian system with a historical perspective by linking it with the socio-historical ideas of The Lonely Crowd. In this book, Riesman distinguishes three historical types. First, there is the "tradition-directed" individual of the Middle Ages, almost wholly defined by institutional roles. Second, there is the "inner-directed" individual emerging at the time of the Renaissance and Reformation, and who, although still "considerably bound by traditions...possesses a somewhat greater degree of flexibility," in other words, is freer to follow (within certain bounds) his own desires regarding personal goals. Third, there is the "other-directed" individual emergent in modern times, whose course of action is largely determined by radio and television, changing styles, and peer-group pressure--in other words, a man who is primarily a conformist and a consumer.⁵⁴

The importance of all this for Neumann is that the autobiography

(in his opinion) is the exclusive domain of the inner-directed individual. The tradition-directed man expresses himself through "Abspiegelung des äusseren Lebens" such as res gestae and family chronicles.⁵⁵ When social constraints weakened in the wake of the Renaissance and Reformation, the beginnings of autobiography as we understand it emerge: "Der nunmehr 'innengeleitete' und seines individuellen Wertes bewußt gewordene Autobiograph verlässt immer mehr die Bahnen der Familientradition.... Das Individuum löst sich aus dem Traditionsverband der Sippe und beginnt ein Eigenleben zu führen. Von hier führt eine direkte Verbindung zu der beschriebenen hochbürgerlich 'klassischen' Form der [literarischen] Autobiographie, die indem sie mit der Geschichte der Sozialisierung, der Bildung des Individuums, abschließt, dieses als einmalig und unverwechselbar hinstellt, als abgeschlossene, sich selbst genügende Monade."⁵⁶ Autobiography is impossible for the other-directed man, says Neumann, because of the absence of "der eigentliche Gegenstand der hochbürgerlichen Autobiographie: die festumrissene, unverwechselbare Persönlichkeit, deren Wachstum dargestellt werden soll."⁵⁷ Neumann finds in Thomas Mann's Felix Krull a parody of the "Goethisch-Selbstbildnerisch-Autobiographische".⁵⁸ "Felix Krull ist der perfekte 'ausengeleitete' Mensch, ein Proteus, der ohne die Spur einer festen Identität, sich als immer bereit und fähig erweist, die Erwartungen der anderen im Wortsinne 'spielend' zu erfüllen."⁵⁹

Neumann's book is both ambitious and ingenious. It is by and

large true that autobiographical writings prior to the Renaissance are restricted to dry chronicles of public events or family lineages, and are usually devoid of any account of inner development. And even to charge that Neumann, in his later chapters, is too indebted to Riesman would be a difficult task, for Neumann adeptly quotes earlier researchers on autobiography, who could have known nothing of Riesman's typology, in a way which convincingly supports the direction of Riesman's thought (and by extension Neumann's).⁶⁰ Indeed, perhaps the book's major failing is that Riesman is applied too thoroughly, especially regarding the impossibility of autobiography after approximately 1870, when, in Neumann's view, the other-directed man becomes predominant. One reviewer complains that Neumann starts "von gut aufgehender Systematik" and ends "in apodiktischem Anspruch."⁶¹ Similarly, Klaus-Detlef Müller complains of "Systemzwang...der den Blick für die Praxis verstellt," particularly regarding the alleged end of autobiography, "denn es ist nicht zu übersehen, daß die Gattungsgeschichte um 1870 keineswegs abgeschlossen ist."⁶² In general, we may agree with these detractors that Neumann's otherwise insightful study is clouded by a too-rigorous application of a socio-historical typology.

Ralph-Rainer Wuthenow's Das erinnerte Ich: Europäische Autobiographie und Selbstdarstellung im 18. Jahrhundert (1974) is a work which is at the same time easier to summarize (in that it lacks an elaborate methodological scaffolding) and harder (in

that its strong points consist of a number of only loosely related aperçus). Wuthenow's book is broader in scope than the other three studies, as it covers major works of Italian, French, and English autobiography, as well as "Sonderformen der Selbstdarstellung," such as Lichtenberg's aphorisms. But despite the absence of theoretical moorings, a picture of autobiography's historical development similar to that of Neumann's emerges. In the Renaissance are seen the stirrings of individuality: "Erst das Zeitalter der Renaissance bringt eine neue Welle von Selbstdarstellungen, die ein neuerwachtes Interesse am individuellen Menschenleben dokumentieren."⁶³ Wuthenow also views this tendency as coming to fruition in the eighteenth century, informing the nineteenth, and weakening in the twentieth: "In keinem Jahrhundert wie im achtzehnten, von der europäischen Frühaufklärung bis zum Beginn der napoleonischen Kriege, ist die Fülle der Selbstdarstellungen derart überraschend und vielfältig; alles, was nachher kommt, wird noch von diesen Vorleistungen bestimmt, die nun zum Traditionsgehalt gerinnen, dessen Voraussetzungen dann an der Schwelle zum zwanzigsten Jahrhundert schon wieder fragwürdig werden."⁶⁴

If this historical pattern is by now a familiar one, Wuthenow may at least claim some originality in the breadth of his scope. Unlike the others discussed here, Wuthenow compares autobiographies in other countries to those written in Germany, and some generalizations are made concerning national characteristics. The German

'non-nobility', denied for the most part any meaningful role in public affairs, develops a 'pure' strain of autobiography, with a confined, introspective focus, "die Beschränkung auf die Privatsphäre...auf die Ich-Entwicklung."⁶⁵ French society, with the bourgeoisie's greater political role and mobility, tends to produce documents more in the nature of memoirs.⁶⁶ The English, finally, felicitously combine the private and public: "Kommt man von der deutschen, so stark innerlich ausgerichteten Autobiographie her, so scheint tatsächlich eine Dimension zu fehlen, auf der anderen Seite gewinnt natürlich eine solche Selbstdarstellung durch die entscheidende Wendung nach aussen an Wirklichkeit und Weltgehalt: das Individuum realisiert sich nicht im Erinnern und Denken, sondern im praktischen Tun."⁶⁷

Despite the value of such observations, at least one critic is of the opinion that Wuthenow suffers from "Verzicht auf einen Strukturbegriff."⁶⁸ And as it is the methodology of various approaches to German autobiography which is of particular concern here, we may without hesitation move on to one of the more technical and ambitious studies under consideration, Müller's Autobiographie und Roman (1976).

In his review of previous criticism of autobiography, Müller objects to two critical tendencies. On the one hand there are, he writes, "gattungsgeschichtliche Gesamtdarstellungen, die dazu neigen, sich auf den stofflichen Aspekt zu beschränken und die

Probleme der literarischen Vermittlung zugunsten historischer (geistesgeschichtlicher, kulturgeschichtlicher oder sozialgeschichtlicher) Synthesen zu vernachlässigen."⁶⁹ He gives Neumann as an example of this type of criticism, since Neumann subjects autobiography to Riesman's socio-historical categories. On the other hand there is "eine gattungstheoretische Forschungsrichtung, die nach einer (ahistorischen) Formtypologie sucht, dabei aber die historischen Sachverhalte der Zweckform nicht hinreichend berücksichtigen kann und schon in der Stoffauswahl eine einseitige Vorentscheidung zugunsten des Ästhetischen trifft."⁷⁰ Müller gives no example, but one might be an older study by Klaiber, who admits his survey of German autobiography to be "als eine Art Höhenwanderung gedacht."⁷¹ Instead of examining autobiography through extra-literary theories or discussing only aesthetically pleasing members of the genre, Müller's study traces eighteenth-century autobiography's growth from a mundane, practical account of one's life ("Zweckform," i.e., originally intended perhaps only for the writer's descendants, or the fellow members of a religious community) to a form of more artistic complexity. This process is referred to as "Literarisierung." As his title suggests, Müller is interested primarily in the role the novel played in this process.

Reduced to its bare essentials, Müller's argument is as follows. At first, fictional techniques were adopted by autobiography not to falsify the account, but to make it truer to life: "Die Ori-

entierung am Roman war also nicht in erster Linie darauf angelegt, das Leben literarisch zu stilisieren, sondern entsprach der Einsicht, daß der Roman die konsequentesten und modernsten Formen wirklichkeitsgerechter Darstellung ausgebildet hatte. So gesehen bedeutet die Ausrichtung der Autobiographie an der Romanform nicht die Preisgabe der Zweckform, sondern im Gegenteil die konsequenteste Behauptung ihres Anspruchs."⁷² Rather quickly, though, this "fleshing out" of the story ("Vollständigkeit des Erzählens") begins to become the body which displaces factual content ("auf Kosten der reinen Sachverhalte").⁷³ This leads to the "Fiktionalisierung des Autobiographischen," whereas the original intention had been "die Darstellungsmöglichkeiten der Autobiographie zu erweitern."⁷⁴ When this occurs, however, the work has ceased to be true autobiography and has become a novel of development. Thus for Müller "der Bildungsroman [ist] die Weiterführung der literarischen Autobiographie," and he finds ways of distinguishing between the two based on the intentionality of the author.⁷⁵

Müller's study is perhaps the strongest discussed thus far, based as it is on actual eighteenth-century novelistic and autobiographical production, rather than on theories brought in from other disciplines. Another empirical-historical approach is that of Günther Niggel, Geschichte der deutschen Autobiographie im 18. Jahrhundert (1977). Whereas Müller's particular interest was in the influence of the novel upon autobiography, Niggel's approach,

which he terms "Gattungsgeschichte," is based upon the fact that in practice eighteenth-century autobiography was divided into various traditions, such as the "Berufsautobiographie," "religiöse Autobiographie," "praktisch-historische Lebensbeschreibung," and others. Niggel chronicles the changes these various traditions undergo in the course of the century and finds that "bis etwa 1720 leben die Traditionen der Gattung [autobiography in general] aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert noch ungebrochen fort,"⁷⁶ but that thereafter, particularly after 1760, a rapid process of individualization occurs, resulting in blurring of the traditionally distinct types of autobiography.

Das gattungsgeschichtliche Hauptergebnis in dieser seit den sechziger Jahren rasch fortschreitenden Individualisierung zuerst des autobiographischen Ich (Charakter-, Seelenbild), dann seiner Erzählhaltung (Erlebnis-Erinnerungsperspektive), endlich seiner ihm polar entgegengesetzten Zeit und Umwelt and also auch der Geschichte seiner Konfrontationen mit ihr (persönliches, zeitgebundenes Schicksal) ist die Individualisierung der überlieferten autobiographen Formen: um 1780 setzt die Auflösung der Typentraditionen ein (Schubart, Bräker, Moritz, Jung-Stilling), die einzelnen Typen werden frei verwendbar, der Grad ihrer Vermischung und Verwandlung wird zum Ausdruck dafür, daß nunmehr auch dem Autor die Individualität seiner Selbst- und Lebensdarstellung voll bewußt ist, weshalb diese Autobiographien nur mehr auf Grund ihrer typologischen Herkunft einem bestimmten Gattungstyp zugeordnet werden können.⁷⁷

This process of dissolution continues, and Niggel attributes to Goethe the accomplishment of gathering them all into one vast

synthesis: "Am Anfang steht noch die Ungebrochenheit der Traditionen, am Ende eine freie Mischung, Kreuzung, und Säkularisation der Typen, bis Goethes Dichtung und Wahrheit alle bisherigen Ansätze und Versuche versammelt und zu einem ausgleichenden Höhepunkt der deutschen und europäischen Autobiographik führt."⁷⁸

Niggli's basic method, then, has been empirical and chronological and he sees in Goethe the culmination of the various autobiographical traditions. His method is a sound one, and provides a clear picture of eighteenth-century autobiographical practice.

It should be noted that these two last two authors stress the importance of individuality for autobiography. Niggli observes "In den Jahren 1760-1780 gewinnt dieser Individualitätsgedanke in der deutschen Autobiographik rasch Kontur,"⁷⁹ and Müller accords individuality a major role in changing the form of autobiography.

...die Autobiographie [entdeckte] erst am Ende des Jahrhunderts recht eigentlich, was seither ihr Gegenstand ist: die Individualität. Während sich die Leistung in einem objektiven Berichtsstil wiedergeben ließ (Gelehrten-Autobiographie) und die religiöse Erfahrung nur mittelbar mit der von ihr negierten weltlichen Existenz zusammenhing und die Subjektivität nur als Medium der göttlichen Gnade verstand (pietistische Autobiographie), läßt sich die Individualität nur aus der Einmaligkeit der persönlichen Erlebnisse in der wirklichen Welt begreifen. Diese Erlebnisse sind aber nur

nachvollziehbar, wenn sie anschaulich vergegenwärtigt werden, weil ihre Qualität in der Besonderheit der Vorgänge selbst und ihrer Wahrnehmung liegt.⁸⁰

Despite the fact that they recognize its importance, individuality does not stand at the centre of either of these authors' studies--Müller's primary concern being the influence of the novel, Niggli's being genre history. But, since tracing the development of individuality in nine eighteenth-century autobiographies is the central aim of the current study, in concluding the introductory chapter we must examine the scholarly literature dealing with the growth of what is variously designated as the "self," "individuality," "individualism," or "personal identity."

Scholarly Literature on Individuality and the Self

Before attempting to explain more precisely what we mean by these often imprecisely used words, it will be necessary to outline the view generally taken of the development of individuality. In The Discovery of the Individual: 1050-1200 (1972) Colin Morris provides a summary of the conventional view.

The conventional account of the discovery of the individual attributes it to the Italian Renaissance of the fifteenth century. Until that time, it is often supposed, a powerful hierarchy had enforced rigorously orthodox modes of thinking upon the peoples of the West, until a new freedom was achieved by the rediscovery of classical humanism. Accompanied

as this was by a return to the reading of the Fathers of the Church, and by the recovery of the Greek New Testament, it had an explosive effect upon thought and art. Self-expression, a respect for human reason, and a delight in the varieties of individuals arose to challenge, if not entirely to replace, the uniformity dictated by authority.⁸¹

Morris, however, does not share this view. He argues in favour of a "twelfth-century Renaissance" and writes, "There is a rapid rise in individualism and humanism in the years from about 1080 to 1150. Then, however, a peak was reached, which was followed by a progressive decline."⁸²

But Morris stands conspicuously alone in suggesting such an early date for the rise of individuality, and his admission of decline after 1150 leads one to wonder how lasting any accomplishments may have been. His findings are at odds with those of most researchers of medieval autobiography. For example, in an article entitled "Autobiography in the Middle Ages?", Paul Zumthor argues that the medieval conformity to pre-established literary convention excludes real self-expression: "The poet...speaks truthfully, that is, in accordance with the demands of a language which he has not chosen, a language traditionally void of all avowals, and of any personal revelation."⁸³ In light of such conventions, which tend to make an abstraction or stylization of the first person personal pronoun, Zumthor concludes: "At best one could speak of a fictional autobiography situated in the reader's

perspective,"⁸⁴ and that "there is only a very slight overlap between the medieval author's psychic world and our own."⁸⁵ Similarly, according to Morris, Abelard's writings are "vivid self-portraits in an age which had come to value individuality,"⁸⁶ but, for other readers, they are something else. In a chapter devoted to Abelard in The Value of the Individual, Weintraub notes that "The frame in which Abelard chose to present his life bears great similarity to the traditional hagiographic genre,"⁸⁷ that his combativeness demanded a "contest with peers", not "incomparable uniqueness,"⁸⁸ and finally that "His society was governed by concern for rank, class, at times even caste, and the corollary facts of privilege, status consciousness, loyalty to family, and loyal adherence to the style of life befitting one's class or rank."⁸⁹ In light of these factors Weintraub asserts: "...there are three major considerations that forbid an attribution of self-aware individuality to this man...: (1) the form he chose for presenting his story; (2) his intensely agonistic character; and (3) the conception of his appropriate role."⁹⁰

With the exception of Morris, writers on the development of individuality place its emergence somewhat later--as Morris mentions, usually during the Renaissance. Gusdorf, for example, one of the first critics of autobiography to ask the modern reader to bear in mind that "conscious awareness of the singularity of each individual life is the late product of a specific civilisa-

tion,"⁹¹ points to the "virtue of individuality as particularly dear to the great men of the Renaissance."⁹² For these and related insights Eakin speaks of the "brilliant and truly seminal essay by Georges Gusdorf, which James Olney justly regards as the harbinger of the theory and criticism of autobiography in our time."⁹³ However, particularly in light of the fact that he cites Cellini as an example, it is likely that Gusdorf would not claim any great novelty for his view, but point out that he is historicizing in the tradition of Jakob Burckhardt. In Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien (1860), Burckhardt wrote:

Im Mittelalter lagen die beiden Seiten des Bewußtseins--nach der Welt hin und nach dem Innern des Menschen selbst--wie unter einem gemeinsamen Schleier träumend oder halbwach. Der Schleier war gewoben aus Glauben, Kindesbefangenheit und Wahn; durch ihn hindurch gesehen erschienen Welt und Geschichte wundersam gefärbt, der Mensch aber erkannte sich nur als Rasse, Volk, Partei, Korporation, Familie oder sonst in irgend einer Form des Allgemeinen. In Italien zuerst verweht dieser Schleier in die Lüfte; es erwacht eine objektive Betrachtung und Behandlung des Staates und der sämtlichen Dinge dieser Welt überhaupt; daneben aber erhebt sich mit voller Macht das Subjektive, der Mensch wird geistiges Individuum und erkennt sich als solches.⁹⁴

Recent scholars, however, have been more cautious in their assessment of the Renaissance, and tend to view it as only a modest beginning in the development of modern individuality. Let us take Cellini as a representative example. For Gusdorf, Cellini, "artist and adventurer, testifies to this new freedom of the indi-

vidual who believes that all things are permitted to him,"⁹⁵ and Burckhardt calls him "a wholly recognizable prototype of modern man."⁹⁶ But Weintraub, for whom the "developing self" is a major criterion for modernity, sees little evidence of this: "Except for the matter of steadily growing artistic skill, Benvenuto is the same personality in the beginning as at the end."⁹⁷ And in a recent article, Jonathan Goldberg comes to the conclusion that in the Renaissance, as in the Middle Ages, convention prohibits much expression of individuality. According to Northrop Frye, literary conventions remained powerful influences until well after Cellini's time. Frye writes, "When Milton sat down to write a poem about Edward King, he did not ask himself: 'What can I find to say about King?' but 'How does poetry require that such a subject should be treated?'"⁹⁸ In his article, "Cellini's Vita and the Conventions of Early Autobiography," Goldberg argues that certain techniques of Renaissance autobiography "conventionalize and universalize experience", and that "[Renaissance] autobiographers reflect Renaissance attitudes about art in revealing ideal forms of themselves."⁹⁹ He draws the conclusion that "...whereas modern autobiography unveils a unique, personal and private self, early autobiography presents a universal, depersonalized and public version of the self."¹⁰⁰

Two recent book-length studies of the development of the idea of the self, John O. Lyons' The Invention of the Self (1978) and

Weintraub's previously mentioned The Value of the Individual (1978) express similar views. Lyons, whose book is subtitled The Hinge of Consciousness in the Eighteenth Century, finds the development of individuality in the Renaissance a preamble to the decisive developments of the eighteenth century. Lyons argues that "before the middle of the eighteenth century...life was seen only in outer acts and measurable events, because a man only existed in his acts and works."¹⁰¹ Renaissance individuality, then, with its emphasis on accomplishment (certainly Cellini's Life attests to this), is a public affair.

One of the major characteristics of the Renaissance remarked on by all historians is the emphasis placed on individualism. It is certainly there, from the Italian Renaissance with its artistic signatures, through the upheavals caused by the discovery of the New World, and the bitter religious battles that followed the Reformation, down to the dominance of Atlantic nations run by a practical and mercantile burgher class. Such individuality was based on respect for talent, or property and legal rights, but invariably stopped short of an interest in the drama of an idiosyncratic inner life.¹⁰²

Lyons never precisely defines the self, but what he means by it, as well as the approximate date of its emergence, can be gleaned from the following passage, in which he contrasts Johnson, a man of the 'old school,' with Boswell, one of the new.

...the turn...appears to come toward the end of the eighteenth century. An enormous differ-

ence exists between Dr. Johnson's Lives of the Poets and Boswell's Life of Samuel Johnson. It takes little imagination to guess what Johnson's reaction to Boswell's version of his life would have been if he had lived to see it. He would have been confused, ashamed, aghast, astonished. Not at the details--although he would surely have emendations and corrections for every page--but at the motive behind such an undertaking. Boswell was Johnson's junior by thirty-one years, and it may have been in that very generation that the change took place. For Johnson a man was the leaky vessel of his soul; for Boswell he was an organic complex of the self. Johnson thought that his own meaning and that of the poets whose lives he wrote consisted in the products of the pen. For him style was almost a distraction from the proper anonymity of the writer. Even his own private prayers tend to formalize his anguish of spirit. Not so for Boswell. Now we know from the Journals that from the very beginning he was a recorder of the minutiae of fact and feeling--as though the sum of every minute of his life was his true self.¹⁰³

A second book (and one perhaps even more useful for our present purpose, insofar as it deals exclusively with autobiography, unlike Lyons') which traces the modern view of the self to the late eighteenth century is Weintraub's The Value of the Individual. This work may be supplemented by his 1975 article "Autobiography and Historical Consciousness," which, as Eakin points out, "serves as a kind of prolegomenon to the book."¹⁰⁴ Like Lyons, Weintraub believes that "self-conception as an individual... evolved gradually in the Western world since the Renaissance,"¹⁰⁵ but that "full convergence of all the factors constituting this modern view of the self occurred only at the end

of the eighteenth century."¹⁰⁶ Weintraub points out that role models for personal development have been prominent in our culture: "In our Western tradition there were such ideal models as the Homeric Hero, the Hero of the Germanic peoples, the ideal of the Roman pater familias, the Stoic Wise Man, Aristotle's aner megalopsychos..., the ideal of the truly committed Monk and Saint, the true Knight, the Good Burgher, the true Scholar."¹⁰⁷ Such models, Weintraub maintains, militate against true individuality.

When a man's inner compass is set on the pursuit of such a model form of being human, he has dedicated his life to the attainment of an objective ideal steadily before his mind's eye. He finds his guidelines in his model. The essential contours of life and personality are prescribed. In his actions and his striving he need not ask himself as to whether this or that is fitting for him, fitting for his personal nature. The entire objective is to make his being conform, as fully as it can, to its normative ideal...when men, with their eyes fascinated by the attractive power of their models, write their autobiographic accounts, they will have scripts for the basic outlines of their lives.¹⁰⁸

Weintraub realizes that "no two Stoic wise men were ever the same, and no imitator of Christ's life ever duplicated that life. Within the confines of the same type there is always room for idiosyncratic variation."¹⁰⁹ However, he adds: "But the all-important issue is whether the prime value is seen to lie in the personal variegation or in the basic commitment to the

model."¹¹⁰ Obviously, he is of the opinion that until the end of the eighteenth century the cultural climate tipped the scales towards "basic commitment to the model."

Related to these two centres of gravity for the autobiography are two views of natural process. The first is tied to what one writer has called the "belief in a sacred masterplot."¹¹¹ In this view, process is simply an "unfolding, subject to the laws of a preformed destiny or nature."¹¹² The second view is more dynamic, and posits the existence of "an unpredictable, contingent interaction of diverse factors in a constantly developing configuration of reality."¹¹³ Only this second view, in Weintraub's opinion, constitutes an authentic sense of history, and is compatible with individuality: "The emergence of individuality, traced...in autobiographic consciousness, depended on the gradual fusion of two ideas: the idea of genuine historical development and the idea of individuality as a value."¹¹⁴ This fusion, though a long time evolving, and approached by other writers, is fully realized only in Goethe: "Dichtung und Wahrheit...represents the moment in the history of autobiography when the self-understanding and the presentation of an individual parallels the emerging historicist mode of understanding human life."¹¹⁵

We have seen, then, that some, though not all, writers on individuality have accorded critical emphasis to the later eighteenth

century. Among writers on autobiography, however, there exists a virtual unanimity about its importance. One critic calls it "the golden age of autobiography,"¹¹⁶ and another observes, "the late eighteenth century saw a flowering of this form,"¹¹⁷ and usually, rather than stressing the increased quantity of autobiographical writing, commentators invoke such famous names as Rousseau, Goethe, Gibbon and Franklin. Pascal says that "the later eighteenth century and the early nineteenth...may properly be called an 'age' of great autobiography."¹¹⁸ Among the German critics, Niggel explains that he had intended to concern himself with a longer time span, but then chose to limit himself: "Das 18. Jahrhundert aber wurde gewählt, weil es sich bei näherer Prüfung des Gesamtstoffs der Autobiographik als der gattungsgeschichtlich entscheidende Zeitraum erwiesen hat."¹¹⁹ (He too, it will be recalled, emphasized the growth of the "Individualitätsgedanke" after 1760.¹²⁰) It is not surprising that Müller observes, "die neuere Forschung [geht] mit bemerkenswerter Einmütigkeit davon aus, daß von Autobiographie im eigentlichen Sinne erst seit dem letzten Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts die Rede sein kann, bzw. daß zu diesem Zeitpunkt die klassische Zeit der Gattung beginne."¹²¹ The reason for this, we may suggest (to quote Müller again) perhaps "...liegt daran, daß die Autobiographie erst am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts recht eigentlich entdeckte, was seither ihr Gegenstand ist: die Individualität."¹²²

Just what is meant by this "individuality" or "self" which is

the supposed subject matter of modern autobiography? It is hoped that the concept has become clearer during the discussion of the literature concerned with it. Having surveyed the historical background, we can now appreciate how Weintraub's delineation of individuality contrasts with previous concepts of personal identity: "...when a man concludes that his very self represents one unique and unrepeatable form of being human, it becomes the perceived task in life to 'fulfill,' to actualize this very specific individuality. By doing so, he can enrich the human cosmos by that one specific form of humanity which only he represents; he will commit a 'crime' against the total human cosmos if he neglects to fulfill his individuality in leaving one of its variants forever unexpressed."¹²³ I realize that a definition should not include the term it is attempting to explain; but while not strictly speaking a definition, the above passage does clarify how Weintraub conceives of individuality. This concept will be one basis of the current study.

Aim and Method of the Current Study

To summarize briefly the literary scholarship on eighteenth-century autobiography: Neumann, in Identität und Rollenzwang, examines the history of German autobiography in the light of Freudian and sociological theory; Wuthenow, in Das erinnerte Ich, compares German autobiographical production with that of other European countries; Müller's Autobiographie und Roman provides a

detailed study of the complex reciprocal influences between fiction and autobiography, which eventually result (Müller argues) in the demise of the literary autobiography and its replacement by the autobiographical Bildungsroman of the nineteenth century, such as Keller's Der grüne Heinrich;¹²⁴ Niggel's Geschichte der deutschen Autobiographie im 18. Jahrhundert studies the changes in eighteenth-century German autobiography from a more 'internal' perspective--that is, concentrating on a chronological account of the changes in presentation within the various sub-genres such as 'Gelehrtenautobiographie,' 'abenteuerliche Lebensgeschichte,' and others.

Thus, we can see that much ground has been covered by these recent studies. A basic history of the changes in the genre has been written (Niggel). A careful study of the interrelationship between autobiography and contemporary developments in fiction also exists (Müller). A comparative approach has been taken (Wuthenow), as well as what might awkwardly be termed a 'psycho-sociological generic approach,' since Neumann's account of the generic differences between autobiography and memoir is based on psychology and sociology.

However, German eighteenth-century autobiography has not yet been examined from the standpoint of the emergence of modern individuality, although all four studies have mentioned the importance of this development.¹²⁵ For this reason I propose to

make individuality the central concept of my analysis, and to examine nine late eighteenth-century autobiographies according to the degree in which they appear to give evidence of the rise of individuality. The time span in which these autobiographies were written covers the last two decades of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth, although only one of the works under consideration was written after the turn of the century.¹²⁶ In other words, I will attempt to document the emergence of individuality in the decades directly preceding the publication of Goethe's Dichtung und Wahrheit (volume 1 of which appeared in 1811), which for Weintraub represents the first full realization of modern individuality.¹²⁷ Goethe and his autobiography, however, are of a different stature than the more modest men and writings under consideration here, and thus Goethe's account of his life lies beyond the scope of this study. Also outside the scope of this study is the well-known Lebensgeschichte of Jung-Stilling, which, according to Niggli, really does not belong to the tradition of autobiography, but rather to that of "Idyllendichtung."¹²⁸ My focus is the various manifestations of individuality in German autobiography in the decades before the appearance of Dichtung und Wahrheit. Another item beyond the necessarily limited scope of this examination of individuality is the important interrelationship between autobiography and Bildungsroman, which has been thoroughly analyzed by Klaus-Detlef Müller in Autobiographie und Roman. Also not treated are the autobiographers of this period who belonged

to the nobility, such as Friedrich von der Trenck or Johannes von Müller. As members of a different social order from the men without means who are the focus of this study, they comprise a separate subgroup in the German autobiographical writings of this period, a subgroup with more affinity to the memoir than the "autobiography proper" (as defined by Pascal [pp. 5-6 of this chapter]).

It is unrealistic, though, to expect that the emergence of individuality would occur in strict chronological order; were that the case, increasing depth and individuation could be mechanically deduced from a later publication date. Factors which contribute greatly to self-image and formation of character, particularly social environment and educational opportunities, play a role more important than composition and publication date in how much an author can realize and express his individuality. In fiction, the publication of a particularly important novel (in German, perhaps Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre; in English, Ulysses) will influence most subsequent serious novel production, especially in the decades directly after its appearance. In autobiography, this is less the case, for although literary techniques are involved in its composition, the basic content of the narrative must be the facts of the author's life, not a literary model. Indeed, among the works examined in the current study, Karl Philipp Moritz's autobiography, the work which contains the most convincing portrayal of individuality, actually appears

slightly before that of Peter Prosch, the most primitive of the works considered here. Müller calls attention to Ulrich Bräker's insight, "daß als gültig empfundene Werke [of autobiography] sich nicht zur Nachahmung eigneten, weil eine solche Nachahmung die Authentizität der persönlichen Erfahrung und damit die eigentliche Legitimation der Selbstdarstellung einschränkte."¹²⁹ For this reason, Müller maintains, "...die einzelnen Beispiele [of literary autobiography before Dichtung und Wahrheit in Germany] [stehen] nicht im Verhältnis kausaler Abhängigkeit im Sinne einer historischen Reihe, sondern sind als nahezu gleichzeitige, parallele Realisierung einer gemeinsamen Gattungsgesetzlichkeit aufzufassen. Insgesamt verwirklichen sie das Spektrum der geschichtlichen Möglichkeiten der Form."¹³⁰

For the purpose of the following study, I have chosen a constellation of works, seven of which were published in the single decade 1789-1799 (only Seume and Moritz lie outside these dates) and which, to varying degrees, display the emerging individuality of the late eighteenth-century, a time period, as we have seen, considered crucial in the development of modern autobiography. On the basis of important shared characteristics, the nine autobiographies are divided into three groups of three. The first group consists of Peter Prosch, Leben und Ereignisse (1789), Johann Christian Brandes, Meine Lebensgeschichte (1799), and C. F. Schubart, Leben und Gesinnungen (1791). What these works have in common is that each of their authors, although possessing a

wealth of extraordinary experience--the motive for writing in the first place--, is forced by circumstances to suppress his individuality. Their circumstances are very different, but as will be seen, it is absolutely necessary, as a matter of simple physical survival, that these authors conform to a role in large part forced upon them by society, and their self-images, as expressed in their autobiographies, tend to be restricted to these roles.

The second group consists of Johann Gottfried Seume, Mein Leben (written in 1809, published in 1813), Salomon Maimon, Lebensgeschichte (1792-1793), and C. F. Laukhard, Leben und Schicksale (1792). These authors, it will be argued, are freer than the writers in the first group to develop his individuality. Indeed, each of them is to some extent a rebel who has chosen to develop in his own way, if somewhat at the edge of society. Nevertheless, rather than attempting to delineate a multi-faceted, balanced account of his personality, each of these authors isolates one aspect of his character as central and definitive, and organizes his self-presentation more or less exclusively around this single characteristic.

The final group consists of Karl Friedrich Bahrdt, Geschichte seines Lebens (1791), Ulrich Bräker, Lebensgeschichte... (1789), and Karl Philipp Mortiz, Anton Reiser (1785-1790). Only in this last group is an attempt made, more successfully by Bräker and

Moritz, to trace the genesis of a more than one-dimensional personality. In these works, each author conceives of himself as "that one specific form of humanity which he represents" (to use Weintraub's phrase), rather than as only an entity which has had a career, or which consists of a single predominant characteristic. The wide range of manifestations of eighteenth-century German autobiography, and the possible reasons for this variety, will be made clearer by close analysis of the works in the three groups.

In closing this introductory chapter, it seems appropriate to provide the reader with some basic information concerning the genesis of the nine autobiographies. The most essential considerations are: when, at what stage of the author's life, and under what conditions was the autobiography composed? How much of the author's life does the autobiography cover? It is also important to know whether the author was able to draw upon a diary (or other written material), or whether he was working, more or less, on the basis of memory alone. A brief account of these facts relevant to the composition of the nine autobiographies is provided below in the order in which they are to be discussed in the text. A chart is also provided to enable the reader more easily to compare and contrast these "vital statistics".

Peter Prosch (1744-1800) wrote his Leben und Ereignisse in 1788 at the age of forty-four, and the autobiography was published in

1789. His fortunes were then at their zenith: he had just returned from Paris, and, outfitted with a wig as befits a man of means, he is gaped at as a "Wunderthier" by the villagers of his native Ried im Zillerthal, of which he is now the richest citizen. Prosch himself informs the reader of all this, as the account of his life is brought up to the time of composition (1788). No diary or other written materials are mentioned by either Prosch or his modern editor, and the existence of such materials is unlikely.

Johann-Christian Brandes (1735-1799), in the preface to his Lebensgeschichte, tells the reader only that he was first asked by friends to write the story of his life in 1791, but that he began only "nach einigen Jahren."¹³¹ The preface is dated 1799, the year of his death, so one may perhaps reasonably conjecture that the autobiography was composed between 1794 and 1799 (the first date being necessarily approximate). Brandes was then between fifty-nine and sixty-four. His circumstances were not happy ones. His wife, daughter and son had all predeceased him. As the author of one of the few modern dissertations on Brandes puts it, "er verbrachte die letzten Jahre ärmlich und fast vergessen in Stettin und Berlin, wo er die Stücke anderer verbesserte und kümmerlich von den Wohltaten weniger Gönner lebte."¹³² The autobiography, which was published in 1799, extends to the last year of his life, and closes with the thought of reunion in death "mit den vorangegangenen Lieben."¹³³

Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart (1739-1791), whose autobiography, Leben und Gesinnungen (1791-1793), bears the subtitle "von ihm im Kerker aufgesetzt," dictated the basis for the text through a hole in a cell wall in the Hohenasperg fortress, where he was being held (without charge) by order of Duke Karl Eugen of Württemberg. It was taken down between 1778 and 1781, when Schubart was between the ages of thirty-nine and forty-five. The narrative ends fully five years before his release from prison. At the time of composition, Schubart was being kept under relatively good conditions, but was still not allowed to communicate with his family. When the autobiography appeared in print in 1791, Schubart treated it as a historical document, making no changes and adding no commentary.

The first volume of Christian Friedrich Laukhard's Leben und Schicksale was written in 1791, when Laukhard was thirty-three, and directly before his participation in the Prussian campaign in France in 1792. The second volume was composed in 1795, after his release from a German regiment in which he served after leaving France. The first volume was published in 1792, the second in 1796. For the composition of the second volume Laukhard used a diary which he had kept during the campaign. For the first volume no diary is mentioned. By the time of composition of the second volume Laukhard was thirty-seven, and while scarcely prosperous (he was living with a friend and seeking a position as a teacher) he was at least free from want.

Excerpts of Salomon Maimon's Lebensgeschichte first appeared in the ninth volume (1791) of Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde, and it appeared in its entirety in book form in 1792-1793. Its composition was begun in 1789, when Maimon was thirty-five, after he had gained some renown as an interpreter of Kant.¹³⁴ Despite his success, a modern editor notes that at this time Maimon was nevertheless "von fast allen seinen früheren Gönnern verlassen und verbittert."¹³⁵ Neither author nor later editors mention the existence of a diary or any other written materials. The narrative covers Maimon's life up to 1789.

Seume's Mein Leben appeared posthumously in 1813. It was begun only in 1809 when the author, then forty-six, was impoverished and in failing health. The portion of the autobiography completed by the author before his death in 1810 extends only to the year 1783, when Seume was twenty. However, many commentators of Seume also consider Der Spaziergang nach Syrakus and Mein Sommer 1805 as autobiography.¹³⁶ There is no evidence he kept a diary.

Dr. Karl Friedrich Bahrdts Geschichte seines Lebens, seiner Meinungen und Schicksale was written in 1790 in Magdeburg prison, to which the author had been sentenced one year for writing a work satirizing a change in Prussian religious policy following the death of Frederick the Great (Das Religionsedikt. Ein Lustspiel in fünf Auszügen [1789]). At the time of his imprisonment Bahrdt was forty-nine. The terms of his detention were quite humane. He

was allowed visitors, books, and, of course, the privilege of writing. However, he was unable to obtain documents he had intended to use as a basis for his autobiography, since these had already found their way into the hands of a biographer, Degenhard Pott.¹³⁷

Ulrich Bräker's Lebensgeschichte und natürliche Abentheuer des armen Mannes im Tockenburg was written between 1781 and 1785, which were the forty-sixth to fiftieth years of the author's life. The work was published in book form in 1790, after having appeared serially in the Zürich periodical Schweizermuseum. Bräker was a family man during this time, eventually becoming the father of seven children and earning a somewhat precarious living as a weaver in Wattwil in his native Switzerland. Aside from its economic difficulties, Bräker's life was not made easier by his wife's complete lack of understanding of his literary interests. Bräker used diaries, which he had begun keeping in 1768, as a basis for his autobiography, which he continues right up to the time of composition. Indeed, an Anhang brings the reader up to the year 1788.

Karl Philipp Moritz's Anton Reiser appeared in four parts, the first being published in 1785, the second and third in 1786, and the fourth in 1790. According to Mark Boulby, the most prominent commentator writing in English on Moritz, the composition of the first part may be dated 1782-1783, the second and third parts

1783-1786, and the final part 1790,¹³⁸ when Moritz was thirty-four. Moritz's autobiography extends (to cite Boulby again) "up to the first days of February, 1777, the middle of his twenty-first year."¹³⁹ Moritz also kept a diary as a youth, the beginning of which may be dated approximately 1773, when he was seventeen.¹⁴⁰

The chart provided on the following page is intended to give the reader a convenient overview of the above information.

AUTHOR	BIRTH	COMPOSITION	PUBLICATION (AS BOOK)	YEARS COVERED BY AUTOBIOGRAPHY	DEATH
Prosch	1744	1788	1789	1744-1788 to age 44	1800
Brandes	1735	1794 (appx.) to 1799*	1799	1735-1799 to age 64	1799
Schubart	1739	1778-1781	1791 (pt. 1) 1793 (pt. 2)	1739-1781 to age 42	1791
Laukhard	1757	1791 (pt. 1) 1795*(pt. 2)	1792 (pt. 1) 1796 (pt. 2)	1758-1791 1792-1795 to age 38	1822
Maimon	1754	1789-1792	1792 (pt. 1) 1793 (pt. 2)	1754-1789 to age 35	1800
Seume	1763	1809-1810	1813	1763-1783 to age 20	1810
Bahrddt	1741	1790	1790 (pts. 1 and 2) 1791 (pts. 3 and 4)	1741-1779 to age 38	1792
Bräker	1735	1781-1785*	1790	1735-1785 to age 49	1798
Moritz	1756	1782-1783* (pt. 1) 1783-1786* (pts. 2, 3) 1790* (pt. 4)	1785 (pt. 1) 1786 (pts. 2, 3) 1790 (pt. 4)	1756-1777 to age 21	1793

* Indicates the existence of diary materials

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I

¹ James Olney, Metaphors of Self (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 49-50.

² Olney, Metaphors. See pp. 182-201 for Darwin, pp. 232-259 for Mill, pp. 260-316 for Eliot, and pp. 89-150 for Jung. As justification for including all of Jung's works, Olney quotes Jung: "The work is the expression of my inner development; for commitment to the contents of the unconscious forms the man and produces his transformations. My works can be regarded as stations along life's way." (Carl Jung, Memories, Dreams, Reflections (New York: Pantheon Books, 1963), p. 222). Quoted in Olney, Metaphors, p. 91.

³ Olney, Metaphors, pp. 38-39.

⁴ Sandra Frieden, Autobiography: Self into Form: German Language Autobiographical Writings of the 1970s (Frankfurt/New York: Peter Lang, 1983), p. 10.

⁵ Ralph-Rainer Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich: Europäische Autobiographie und Selbstdarstellung im 18. Jahrhundert (München: Beck, 1974), p. 12.

⁶ Roy Pascal, Design and Truth in Autobiography (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 9.

⁷ Bernd Neumann, Identität und Rollenzwang: Zur Theorie der Autobiographie (Frankfurt: Athenäum, 1970), p. 25.

⁸ Karl J. Weintraub, "Autobiography and Consciousness," Critical Inquiry, 1 (1974-1975), p. 823.

⁹ Candace Lang, "Autobiography in the Aftermath of Romanticism," Diacritics, 12 (1982), p. 6.

¹⁰ For example, Neumann's unusually strict distinction between autobiography and memoir is obviously the result of the Freudian basis of his thought. In memoir the super-ego has predominance, and the individual is shown as a social being. True autobiography consists of delineating the free interplay of id, ego, and superego, and this can take place only before the individual has adopted his social role. See Neumann, Identität und Rollenzwang, pp. 16-25.

¹¹ The phrase is Pascal's. See Pascal, Design and Truth, p. 3.

12. Pascal, Design and Truth, p. 3: "Mrs. Burr [Ann Robeson Burr, The Autobiography: A Critical and Comparative Study (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909)] and H. N. Wethered [The Curious Art of Autobiography (New York: Philosophical Library, 1956)] in their books on autobiography do not distinguish between autobiographies and diaries or even letters."

13. Pascal, Design and Truth, p. 3.

14. Georges Gusdorf, "Conditions and Limits of Autobiography," trans. James Olney, in James Olney, ed., Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 35.

15. Neumann, Identität und Rollenzwang, p. 25.

16. Pascal, Design and Truth, p. 5: "The line between autobiography and memoir or reminiscence is much harder to draw,--or rather, no clean line can be drawn." Weintraub, in "Autobiography and Consciousness," also speaks of "many works which are hybrids of memoir and autobiography" (p. 823).

17. Pascal, Design and Truth, p. 5.

18. Weintraub, "Autobiography and Consciousness," p. 823.

19. Georges May, "Autobiography and the Eighteenth Century," Genre, 6 (1973), p. 324.

20. Barrett John Mandel, "The Autobiographer's Art," Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, 27 (1968), p. 217.

21. Pascal, Design and Truth, p. 9.

22. Philippe Lejeune, Le Pacte Autobiographique (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1975), p. 14.

23. William C. Spengemann, The Forms of Autobiography: Episodes in the History of a Literary Genre (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1980), p. 187.

24. Frieden, Autobiography: Self into Form, p. 17, p. 19, p. 23.

25. James Olney, "Autobiography and the Cultural Moment: A Thematic, Historical, and Bibliographical Introduction," in James Olney, ed., Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical, p. 19.

26 Olney, Metaphors of Self, p. ix, calls Geschichte der Autobiographie "a work that in the best manner of German scholarship, is both exhaustive and exhausting;..." and in "Autobiography and the Cultural Moment," observes that Weintraub's The Value of the Individual (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978) "performs in English (and in 400 pages as against 4,000) much the same service as Misch's monumental work in German" (pp. 12-13). The first volume of Misch's work was originally written in 1904 and first published in 1907; the last volumes were compiled out of Misch's Nachlaß by his students following his death in 1956.

27 Wilhelm Dilthey, Gesammelte Schriften (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1958), vol. 7, p. 246.

28 Frieden, Autobiography: Self into Form, p. 17.

29 Theodor Klaiber, Die deutsche Selbstbiographie (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1921), p. 1.

30 Marianne Beyer-Fröhlich, Die Entwicklung der deutschen Selbstzeugnisse (Leipzig: Reclam, 1930), p. 5.

31 Stephen A. Shapiro, "The Dark Continent of Literature: Autobiography," Comparative Literature Studies, 5 (1968), p. 421.

32 Olney, "Autobiography and the Cultural Moment," in Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical, p. 7.

33 Georges Gusdorf, "Conditions et limites de l'autobiographie," in Günther Reichenkron and Erich Haase, eds., Formen der Selbstdarstellung: Analekten zu einer Geschichte des literarischen Selbstportraits (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1956), pp. 105-123. The English translation appears in Olney, Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical, pp. 28-48.

34 Olney, "Autobiography and the Cultural Moment," in Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical, p. 8.

35 Gusdorf, "Conditions and Limits of Autobiography," in Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical, pp. 44, 47.

36 Gusdorf, "Conditions and Limits of Autobiography," pp. 42-43.

37 Pascal, Design and Truth, p. 14.

38 Karl J. Weintraub, The Value of the Individual: Self and Circumstance in Autobiography (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1978). p. 1.

39 William C. Spengemann, The Forms of Autobiography (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), esp. the chapters on Augustine and Rousseau for the ideas summarized here.

40 Estelle C. Jelinek, "Introduction: Women's Autobiography and the Male Tradition," in Estelle C. Jelinek, ed., Women's Autobiography: Essays in Criticism (Bloomington/London: Indiana University Press, 1980), p. 11: "A possible explanation for the absence or near absence of siblings in most life studies is the fact that most autobiographers are achievers with self-sustaining ego systems,..." Regarding discrepancies in reception, Jelinek notes that works of an autobiographical nature in a difficult style were published by Buckminster Fuller and Kate Millet at approximately the same time, meeting with approval in one case, but disapproval in the other. Jelinek then quotes an unnamed critic, who asks, "if both Millet and Fuller write experimental prose, but Fuller's is accepted while Millet's is not, could this be because neither Millet's work nor her life is seen as significant enough to tolerate her eccentricity?" (p. 4).

41 Jean Starobinski, "The Style of Autobiography," in Seymour Chatman, ed., Literary Style: A Symposium (Oxford: University Press, 1971), pp. 288-289.

42 Lejeune, Le pacte autobiographique (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1975).

43 Elizabeth Bruss, Autobiographical Acts: The Changing Situation of a Literary Genre (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 15.

44 John Sturrock, "The New Model Autobiographer," New Literary History, 9 (1977), p. 60.

45 Roland Barthes, "Introduction à l'analyse structurale des récits," Communications, 8 (1966), p. 20; rpt. in "An Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narrative," New Literary History, 6 (1974-1975), p. 261.

46 Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?" in Josue V. Harari ed., Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism (London: Methuen, 1980), pp. 142-143.

47 Michael Sprinker, "Fictions of the Self: The End of Autobiography," in Olney, Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical, pp. 333-334.

48 Frieden, Autobiography: Self into Form, p. 28.

49 Frieden, Autobiography: Self into Form, pp. 30-31.

- 50 Olney, "Autobiography and the Cultural Moment," in Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical, p. 23.
- 51 Paul John Eakin, Fictions in Autobiography: Studies in the Art of Self-Invention (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 191.
- 52 Neumann, Identität und Rollenzwang, pp. 20-21.
- 53 Neumann, Identität und Rollenzwang, p. 25.
- 54 David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1950), pp. 11-24. The quoted phrases are from p. 16.
- 55 Neumann, Identität und Rollenzwang, p. 175. The phrase is Georg Misch's, quoted by Neumann.
- 56 Neumann, Identität und Rollenzwang, p. 180.
- 57) Neumann, Identität und Rollenzwang, p. 183.
- 58 Thomas Mann, Reden und Aufsätze I (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1965), pp. 544-545, quoted in Neumann, Identität und Rollenzwang, p. 184.
- 59 Neumann, Identität und Rollenzwang, p. 184.
- 60 Neumann, Identität und Rollenzwang, p. 180, convincingly quotes Misch and Werner Mahrholz, Deutsche Selbstbekenntnisse (Berlin: Furche, 1919), in support of his arguments.
- 61 Hans Picard, Zeitschrift für deutsche Psychologie, 92 (1973), p. 630.
- 62 Klaus-Detlef Müller, Autobiographie und Roman: Studien zur literarischen Autobiographie der Goethezeit (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1976), p. 24.
- 63 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 22.
- 64 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 9.
- 65 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 39.
- 66 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 39.
- 67 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 123.
- 68 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 16.

- 69 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 26.
- 70 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 26.
- 71 Klaiber, Die deutsche Selbstbiographie, p. 1.
- 72 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 53.
- 73 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 338.
- 74 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 353.
- 75 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 352.
- 76 Günter Niggel, Geschichte der deutschen Autobiographie im 18. Jahrhundert: Theoretische Grundlegung und literarische Entfaltung (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1977), p. 96.
- 77 Niggel, Geschichte, p. 98.
- 78 Niggel, Geschichte, p. 170.
- 79 Niggel, Geschichte, p. 97.
- 80 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 124.
- 81 Colin Morris, The Discovery of the Individual: 1050-1200 (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), p. 5.
- 82 Morris, Discovery, p. 7.
- 83 Paul Zumthor, "Autobiography in the Middle Ages?", Genre 6 (1973), p. 45.
- 84 Zumthor, "Autobiography in the Middle Ages?", p. 43.
- 85 Zumthor, "Autobiography in the Middle Ages?", p. 31.
- 86 Morris, Discovery, p. 86.
- 87 Weintraub, The Value of the Individual, p. 80.
- 88 Weintraub, The Value of the Individual, p. 86.
- 89 Weintraub, The Value of the Individual, p. 83.
- 90 Weintraub, The Value of the Individual, p. 80.
- 91 Gusdorf, "Conditions and Limits," in Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical, p. 29.

92 Gusdorf, "Conditions and Limits," in Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical, p. 34.

93 Eakin, Fictions in Autobiography, p. 199.

94 Jakob Burckhardt, Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien (Leipzig: Seemann, 1904), p. 141.

95 Gusdorf, "Conditions and Limits," in Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical, p. 34.

96 Quoted in Weintraub, The Value of the Individual, p. 115. Interestingly, this sentence does not appear in all German editions. It comes at the end of a paragraph and appears to have been a later addition to the original text.

97 Weintraub, The Value of the Individual, p. 843.

98 Northrop Frye, Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 97.

99 Jonathan Goldberg, "Cellini's Vita and the Conventions of Early Autobiography," Modern Language Notes, 89 (1974), p. 72.

100 Goldberg, "Cellini's Vita," p. 71.

101 John O. Lyons, The Invention of the Self: The Hinge of Consciousness in the Eighteenth Century (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), p. 110.

102 Lyons, Invention, p. 70.

103 Lyons, Invention, p. 6.

104 Eakin, Fictions, p. 203.

105 Weintraub, "Autobiography and Historical Consciousness," p. 841.

106 Weintraub, The Value of the Individual, p. xv.

107 Weintraub, "Autobiography and Historical Consciousness," p. 837.

108 Weintraub, "Autobiography and Historical Consciousness," pp. 837-838.

109 Weintraub, "Autobiography and Historical Consciousness," p. 837.

- 110 Weintraub, "Autobiography and Historical Consciousness," p. 837.
- 111 Peter Brooks, "Fictions of the Wolfman: Freud and Narrative Understanding," Diacritics, 9 (1979), p. 74.
- 112 Weintraub, The Value of the Individual, p. 262.
- 113 Weintraub, The Value of the Individual, p. 262.
- 114 Weintraub, The Value of the Individual, p. 263.
- 115 Weintraub, The Value of the Individual, p. 368.
- 116 Georges May, "Autobiography and the Eighteenth Century," Genre, 6 (1973), p. 327.
- 117 Jean A. Perkins, "Contexts of Autobiography in the Eighteenth Century: France and America," in Enlightenment Studies in Honour of Lester G. Crocker, Alfred J. Bingham and Virgil W. Topazio eds., (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 1979), p. 231.
- 118 Pascal, Design and Truth, p. 36.
- 119 Niggel, Geschichte, p. xv.
- 120 Niggel, Geschichte, p. 97.
- 121 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 27.
- 122 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 124.
- 123 Weintraub, "Autobiography and Historical Consciousness," p. 839.
- 124 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 342: "Die konsequente Inanspruchnahme der Fiktion für die Autobiographie... findet eine bedeutsame Entsprechung in der für die zeitgenössische Literatur kennzeichnenden Aufhebung der Autobiographie zum Roman, deren folgenreichste Konsequenz in der Erzählstruktur des Bildungsromans vorliegt." For Der grüne Heinrich, see pp. 346-352.
- 125 For Müller and Niggel, see the already-quoted passages (notes 76 and 79); Neumann has a section entitled "Der neu erwachende Individualismus," in which he links individualism in both Renaissance Italy and eighteenth-century Germany to the bourgeoisie of the cities ("städtisches Bürgertum," see pp. 109-114). Wuthenow likewise sees a connection between individuality and the bourgeoisie: "Das sich emanzipierende des bürgerlichen

Zeitalters, das sich zuerst nur äusserlich orientiert, entwickelt in der Reflexion auf sich, sein Wollen, sein Handeln, seine Lage etwas Neues, was man seine Subjektivität nennen kann" (p. 41).

126 Johann Gottfried Seume's Mein Leben was written in 1809 and published posthumously in 1813.

127 Weintraub, The Value of the Individual, p. 368: "Dicht- und und Wahrheit thus represents the moment in the history of autobiography when the self-understanding and presentation of an individual parallels the emerging historicist mode of understanding human life."

128 Niggel, Geschichte, p. 73: "Mit Heinrich Stillings Jugend (um 1772 geschrieben) beginnt [die Lebensgeschichte] ganz außerhalb der autobiographischen Tradition: dieser erste Teil stellt nämlich eines der frühesten Beispiele der mit dem Sturm und Drang wieder auflebenden und in den nächsten Jahrzehnten beliebten naturkräftigen, detailrealistischen Idyllendichtung dar,..."

129 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 200. Müller does not here connect "Bräkers Einsicht" with a particular passage in Bräker's works, but elsewhere makes a similar statement, observing: "für Bräker [kam] die Imitation eines Formmusters wie Jung-Stilling nicht in Frage" (p. 182). Müller bases this statement on the following passage from Bräker: "Freylich hät' ich, wie gesagt, mein Geschreibe ganz anders gewünscht;...alles schien mir unschicklich, am unrichten Orte zu stehn, ohne daß ich mir denn doch getraut hätte, zu bestimmen, wie es eigentlich seyn sollte; sonst hätt' ich's flugs auf diesen Fuß, z.B. nach dem Modell eines Heinrich Stillings umgegossen. 'Aber, Himmel! Welch ein Contrast! Stilling und: ich!' dacht' ich. 'Nein, daran ist nicht zu gedenken. Ich dürfte nicht in Stillings Schatten stehn.' Freylich hätt' ich mich oft gerne so gut und fromm schildern mögen, wie dieser edle Mann es war. Aber könnt' ich es, ohne zu lügen?" (Ulrich Bräker, Leben und Schriften Ulrich Bräkers, des Armen Mannes im Tockenburg, 3 vols., ed. Samuel Voellmy (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1945), vol. 1, pp. 292-293.

130 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 201.

131 Johann Christian Brandes, Meine Lebensgeschichte (München: Georg Müller, 1923), p. xiv.

132 Ute Reich Cezeaux, Die Theaterlustspiele von J.C. Brandes im Übergang von Typenkomödie zu bürgerlichem Rührstück (Dissertation, University of Maryland, 1974), p. 4.

133 Brandes, Lebensgeschichte, p. 470.

134 Jakob Fromer, "Einleitung," in Salomon Maimons Lebensgeschichte, ed. Jakob Fromer (München: Georg Müller, 1911), p. 26: "Dieses Schreiben [a very favourable letter from Kant] bedeutet für Maimon den größten Triumph...Nun holt Maimon zum Hauptschlag aus. Er schreibt seine Lebensgeschichte nieder und Karl Philipp Moritz gibt sie heraus. Seine Erlebnisse erregen ungeheures Aufsehen."

135 Zwi Batcha, "Nachwort," in Salomon Maimons Lebensgeschichte ed. Zwi Batscha (Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 1984), p. 339.

136 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 209, argues that Seume's method of presentation is such "so daß die Reisebeschreibung also zugleich als Selbstdarstellung und Erfahrungsbericht formuliert ist."

137 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 222, footnote: "Die Verhaftung...bringt Bahrdt in erhebliche finanzielle Schwierigkeiten...Seine Kinder händigen deshalb dem Buchhändler Pott seine für die Lebensbeschreibung gesammelten Unterlagen aus,..."

138 Mark Boulby, Karl Philipp Moritz: At the Fringe of Genius (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), p. 35.

139 Boulby, Karl Philipp Moritz, p. 35.

140 Karl Philipp Moritz, Anton Reiser (Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 1981), p. 210: "Reiser hatte damals schon seit länger als einem Jahre angefangen, sich ein Tagebuch zu machen,..." A theatre performance mentioned somewhat earlier (p. 189) can be dated 1773 (notes, p. 580), so the diary may have been begun in this year or perhaps slightly earlier.

II. Individuality Suppressed: Prosch, Brandes, Schubart

It should be admitted from the outset that, to varying degrees, our first three authors are memoirists first and autobiographers second. That is, to quote again a useful definition cited in our opening pages, "the eye of the writer is focused less on the inner experience than on the external fact."¹ However, this does not mean that the individuality of these writers is entirely obscured by external events, in the way Froissart is more or less entirely obscured by the events recorded in his Chronicles. But in the eighteenth century, in contrast to the fourteenth, the audience's mind was no longer exclusively preoccupied with the public deeds of the rich and powerful-- "princes orgulous, their high blood chafed," as Shakespeare describes his protagonists in the prologue to Troilus and Cressida. Rather, there had been a shift of interest towards people of lower station and towards a concern with private lives. Due to this change of consciousness, says Georges May, "one can postulate that, beginning towards the middle of the eighteenth century, even memoir-writers (as distinguished from autobiographers) could not fail to write about themselves, even when their conscious intention was not to do so."² As examples he gives Boswell and the French memoirist Madame de Staal-Delaunay. Both saw themselves as writing to preserve for posterity an image of a famous public figure--

Johnson and a certain Duchesse du Maine, respectively. But modern interest, argues May, has shifted from the public figure to the private one: "...nowadays, as we know, Boswell's diaries as opposed to his Life of Johnson have found their own faithful public, quite apart from what they may occasionally have to say about Dr. Johnson or other noteworthy contemporaries. As for Mme de Staal, most of the readers she still has today are entirely indifferent to and oblivious of her haughty mistress."³

We shall provide some examples of our own from a later period. Both Mrs. Philip Snowdon's Through Bolshevik Russia (London: Cassel, 1920) and Emma Goldman's My Disillusionment in Russia (New York: Doubleday, 1923) are minor memoirs of early travels by Western women through Soviet Russia, and are intended primarily to give Western audiences an accurate report on conditions and attitudes within the new society. And indeed these works provide a vivid picture of Russia during the Civil War. But through the way the descriptions are presented, by the choice of people their writers associate with and how they react to them, and finally through their own remarks and even speeches, the reader is also provided with a distinct sense of the individuality of each woman as well. Perhaps because they are writing after "the hinge of consciousness in the eighteenth century" (to quote the subtitle of Lyon's The Invention of the Self), the memoirists do not fade facelessly from the memoir. The situation is similar with Prosch, Brandes and Schubart, although their indi-

vidualities are less well-developed than those of the authors to be discussed in later chapters. Prosch intends primarily to give an account of the merry life at minor courts, Brandes to provide an accurate memoir of the German eighteenth-century theatre, and Schubart to demonstrate to the reader the mercy of God, but in so doing each provides a glimpse of his individuality. It is only a glimpse, because each of them to a great extent must suppress that "one unique and unrepeatable form of being human" which constitutes individuality, and present himself largely in terms of "basic commitment to the model" (to employ Weintraub's phrases). Each casts himself into a role. Prosch's role is that of the fool. Brandes' role we might term the "Biedermann" or good citizen. And circumstances dictate that Schubart play the role of the penitent.

Peter Prosch: Leben und Ereignisse...

Leben und Ereignisse des Peter Prosch, eines Tyrolers von Ried im Zillerthal, oder das wunderbare Schicksal. Geschrieben in den Zeiten der Aufklärung, which Wuthenow terms "ein Kuriosum,"⁴ is different in several respects from the other autobiographies under consideration. It is the only work originating from "backward" Catholic Austria (all other writers are of Protestant background, except for Maimon, who is Jewish). It is the only autobiography to deal extensively with life at court, and the dedication indicates the work was intended primarily--though not

exclusively--for a courtly audience.⁵ We might call Prosch's the least "bourgeois" of the nine autobiographies under study. Although there are exceptions (as performers Brandes and Schubart move at times in courtly circles, and Bräker's earliest years are exclusively rural), the majority of our autobiographies (Brandes, Seume, Laukhard, Bahrtdt, Moritz) present lower middle-class individuals against the background of an urban bourgeois environment. This is most true of the German autobiographers: Laukhard we find in Giessen and Wetzlar, Seume in Leipzig and Weimar, Moritz in Hanover and Erfurt. Even outsiders such as the Swiss Bräker and the Polish Jew Maimon come to associate with the urban bourgeoisie: Bräker becomes the sole proletarian member of the bourgeois "moralische Gesellschaft" of Lichtensteig, and Maimon becomes a part of the Berlin Enlightenment. Peter Prosch's environment seems light years away from the well-developed North German urban centres, or even those of Southern Germany and Switzerland. Prosch moves in a world of undiluted absolutism, in which there appears to be little middle ground between the glittering court and the grinding poverty of the village. As Wuthenow has noticed, when Peter Prosch goes to Paris, he never properly experiences the city itself: "Vom Hofleben weiß er mehr zu sagen als von der Stadt, denn Höfe kennt er und findet sich zurecht an ihnen."⁶ As such he provides an interesting contrast to our other figures, whose lives demonstrate much more influence of the winds of change blowing "in den Zeiten der Aufklärung." (Given the content of his autobiography, it is hard

to deny the irony of Prosch's subtitle.) But the absolutist world of Prosch was still the reality of millions of European subjects, particularly in Southern and Eastern Europe. And considering this type of society's baleful influence on individuality, it is by fortunate chance that we possess any autobiographical document, however limited, from one of its humblest members. Thus Prosch's narrative constitutes a sort of "ground zero" or "Nullpunkt" of individuality, against which the more successful efforts of the other autobiographers to convey their personalities stand out in relief. As Niggli observes: "Leben und Ereignisse des Peter Prosch ...zeigen sich...von der literarischen Empfindsamkeitbewegung der Zeit völlig unberührt and beachten darum noch kaum die Gefühlswelt des Ich."⁷

Prosch's life may be summarized briefly. He was born in the Tyrolean village of Ried im Zillerthal in 1744,⁸ the youngest of eleven children. Both parents were dead by the time the boy was ten, and he became homeless when the "gar böses Weib" (p. 15) of an elder brother unceremoniously banished the younger children from the house. At this tender age he was forced to leave his native valley, and became an itinerant patent medicine peddler. He ended up at the court of a minor Swabian prince where he was for a time the resident Hoftyroler, but homesickness drove him back to Ried. However, once back, "mein übler Nachbar, der Hunger" (p. 35) reminds him why he left. It was at this point that Prosch had the revelation which was to serve him so well,

and largely determined the course of his life. He dreamed that he appeared before Maria Theresia, and she filled his hat with money and granted his request to be allowed to build a little house and still (Brandweinhüttl) in his native valley. With innocent faith and determination he made his way to Vienna and at the age of thirteen did indeed appear before the Kaiserin. His requests were fulfilled as foretold in the dream. He returned to his homeland, and house and still were built. But Prosch never really settled down to family life. Rather, he resumed his wanderings, traveling from court to court, and functioning not only as a Hoftyro-ler but also as a salesman of leather goods, particularly gloves. Through this enterprise and by currying princely favor Prosch managed to accumulate money; he became, as he remarks, "ein Kapitalist" (p. 91), and by the time of writing (in 1788, at the age of 44) he has purchased Ried's village inn and is one of the community's leading property owners. Prosch tells his story, much of which is devoted to economic vicissitudes, in a quick, matter-of-fact style, and expressly notes he is not concerned "mit tiefen und langen Betrachtungen" (p. 303).

But there is a price for Prosch's success. As Wuthenow puts it, "Er bezahlt mit seiner Person."⁹ In a mock ceremony someone accidentally (?) sets fire to a false beard he has been made to wear. But he cannot see this immediately, as he has also been made to carry a silver collection plate in his mouth. The result: "Mir...hat die Brunst meine Haare, Ohrwäschl und den ganzen Kopf

so verbrannt, daß große Fetzen Haut herunterhingen" (p. 68). To make a better rider of him he is tied to a spirited horse; when he is taken off, unconscious, he is carried to an inn "wo man mir geschwind eine Ader öffnen und ich drei Wochen im Bette liegen mußte" (p. 72). On one occasion he is tempted with a silver piece of considerable value, but when he goes to pick it up he is thrown to the ground by a violent shock, since the coin had been placed on an iron rod attached to a primitive electricity-producing unit. These same noblemen also provide him with a special pair of pants with firecrackers sewn into them: "ich bekam deswegen nicht wenig blaue Flecken" (p. 94) remarks Prosch. In the course of a journey he is given a powerful purgative, which forces him to leave the carriage twenty times in four hours: "den halben Weg gelaufen, den halben gefahren, den Hintern und die Hosen schier zerrissen, stramazed und gallad kam ich zu Freysing an und sah aus, wie ein weißes Tuch" (p. 156). At one point he is forcibly placed aboard a hot air balloon (one can appreciate the novelty of air travel for the peasant mind of the time). When the balloon descends Prosch is able to jump out, but as a result of his fright, as he does not refrain from telling us, "ich sah gelb und weiß aus und hab aus Courage meine Hosen so zugerichtet, daß ich zween Tage hindurch daran zu waschen hatte" (p. 269).

In light of such degrading treatment (and these are only some of the examples) it is surprising that Prosch is able to preserve

any personal dignity whatsoever, let alone cultivate "that one specific form of humanity which only he represents." Rather, Prosch presents an extreme form of what Weintraub terms "basic commitment to the model,"--that is, he must suppress his individuality and don the safe mantle of a societal role. In his case he must pattern his behavior to fit what is expected of a Hoftyroler, which might be defined as a combination of rustic and court jester.

One way in which Prosch reduces both himself and others to types is through extremely generalized and repetitive descriptions of people and events, often employing identical verbal formulas throughout the text or varying them only slightly. Since Prosch is a lowly member of courtly society, and feels compelled to speak more often of it than of himself, the tedious uniformity of his verbal tags occurs most often in connection with people and things around him. But it will be seen that he employs similar catch-phrases when describing himself as well.

Prosch is the entertainer, the bishops and princes the entertained. To entertain well it helps to have everyone in good spirits. But rather than describing events and characters of a particular evening, one phrase is used over and over again to let the reader know that a good time is on the way, and that the Hoftyroler may well be in for some high jinks. "Der Fürst [von Würzburg] war gutes Humors, alle Herrschaften waren lustig und

aufgeräumt" writes Prosch (p. 158), and one paragraph later repeats himself in case there is any doubt: "Alles war lustig und aufgeräumt; nüchtern waren wir auch nicht" (p. 159). Similarly we hear regarding other festivities: "wir aßen gut und tranken die besten Weine und wurden ziemlich lustig und aufgeräumt" (p. 116); "Wir logierten in Fürstenried bei Hof, es ging uns wohl und wir waren ganz lustig und aufgeräumt" (p. 247); or, again of Adam Friedrich of Würzburg: "Er liebte Aus- wie Inländer und, wenn alles lustig, aufgeräumt und wohlauf war, hatte er seine größte Freude dabei" (p. 76). But other princes are described in the same way. Of a certain prince of Mörsburg we are told "Der Fürst war ein lustig- und aufgeräumter Herr" (p. 267), and of a group we hear, "Es logierten in meinem Hause der Fürst von Kiemsee, der Karl Firman...und mehrere Herrschaften, welche alle bei der Nachttafel...sehr lustig und aufgeräumt waren" (p. 106). In general, this is the formula for virtually every festivity Prosch attends: "alles war durcheinander lustig und aufgeräumt" (p. 270); "Alles war lustig und aufgeräumt; die Tafel ging zu Ende" (p. 225); "Alles war aufgeräumt und lustig; man trank aus einem Deckelglas auf des Fürsten Gesundheit" (p. 260). Variants do exist: occasionally we find the company "lustig und wohlauf" (p. 205, p. 208), "gutes Humors und wohlauf" (p. 206), or "gutes Humors und aufgeräumt" (p. 208).

With another repetitive formula Prosch means to convey how well-liked he is by the various princes and courtiers. But by con-

stantly invoking the same phrase he reduces them all to pleased patrons, rather than personalities who might have reacted to him after their own fashion. The verb is altered from time to time for some small variety, and it speaks for Prosch's deferential attitude that "leiden" and "gedulden" are used more often than the stronger "gern haben". So it is said of various patrons and their retinues (I have not supplied the names in brackets, as they are of little consequence in this context): "Mit dieser Gelegenheit wurde ich zu Innsbruck bei allen Herrschaften bekannt, die mich alle wohl leiden konnten" (p. 70); "Es freue ihn nur dieses, daß von keinem Menschen aus seinem Hofstaat jemals eine Klage von einer Schwätzerei oder sonst was über mich eingelangt sei und daß alle Menschen mich leiden könnten" (p. 77); "Der Fürst wie auch alle Herrschaften in Bamberg konnten mich leiden" (p. 87); "Ich blieb noch drei Wochen bei Hofe, weil mich der Kurfürst und die Kurfürstin wohl gedulden konnten" (p. 90); "Der Fürst konnte mich ebenfalls wohl leiden und unterhielt sich öfters bei mir" (p. 157); "Alle Kavalier und Damen konnten mich gedulden" (p. 157); "Ich mußte täglich zur kurfürstl. Tafel, wo mich der Kurfürst, die Kurfürstin und alle Herrschaften wohl leiden konnten" (p. 187); "alle Herrschaften sahen mich gern, weil sie wußten, daß mich der Fürst gern habe" (p. 206); "Ich blieb noch eine Weile, weil mich der Kurfürst und die Kurfürstin wohl gedulden konnten" (p. 219); "Sie ist eine lustige und gescheite Fürstin und konnte mich sehr wohl leiden" (p. 232); "Fürst Karl kann mich auch wohl leiden" (p. 234). This is not a

complete catalogue of the phrase, but perhaps these examples will suffice. Prosch's account of the princes' mirth is nearly as uniform. To quote only a few examples: "Was der Fürst und alle Herrschaften hierüber gelacht, kann sich jeder leicht selbst einbilden" (p. 89); "Wie die Herren gelacht haben, kann man sich leicht einbilden" (p. 92); "Daß hierüber bei den Herrschaften ein großes Gelächter entstanden sei, wird man mir leicht glauben können" (p. 94). As a slight variation the reader is offered an intensification in the laughter: "Die Herrschaften konnten sich auch nicht genug lachen" (p. 147); "Der Fürst sank zurück auf seinen Stuhl, die Augen gingen ihm über, er konnte nichts reden, alle Herrschaften heben ihre Bäuche, und das ganze Volk schrie und lachte so, daß mir Zeit und Weil lang wurde" (p. 161).

These stock phrases deny the noblemen any individual characteristics they possess, reducing them to a uniformly merry and appreciative audience. Similarly, Prosch's self-description is for the most part limited to his social role of entertainer. An entertainer should be lively, and Prosch describes himself as always ready to jump and dance, both as entertainment and also as a form of gratitude. The verbal tags are not quite so uniform as in some previous examples, but some derivative of springen is common to all. At one of the first courts he visits we are told "ich mußte vor ihnen tanzen, und die jungen Kavalier sprangen auch mit mir herum" (p. 44). But soon Prosch must perform some-

thing more lively than just a dance. With the firecrackers in his pants, Prosch narrates, "ich machte Sätze und Sprünge, und wo ich hinkam, floh alles vor mir" (p. 94), or even more drastically, after being pursued by a wild boar, "Der Fürst und alle Herrschaften sagten, sie hätten in ihrem Leben keine solche Sprünge und Sätze gesehen" (P. 161). Expressions of thanks are equally demonstrative. When the Kaiserin fulfills his dream by filling his hat with ducats, Prosch writes "Ich küßte ihr also die Hand, nahm sie bei der Mitte, sprang und hüpfte um sie herum" (p. 54). Similarly, upon the granting of favours by other patrons we hear: "Ich tat aus Freuden einen Sprung und lauten Schrei" (p. 103); "Ich küßte ihm die Hand, freute mich, hüpfte und sprang" (p. 189); "ich glaubte, es wären Gulden, und machte deswegen einen Freudensprung und Burzelbaum" (p. 191).

Besides unvarying liveliness and the energetic obsequiousness which is a part of it, Prosch must also establish his consistent cowardice. This is another aspect of his entertainment value, since the nobles' vulgar humor delights in seeing the weaknesses of their social inferiors revealed in embarrassing ways. That Prosch is--or must play--a "Poltron und Hasenherz" (p. 116) is best illustrated by his special use of the word Courage, which in time becomes a catchword meaning exactly the opposite of courage. The beginnings of this occur when Prosch, charged with guarding some meat and provided with a dog and pistols, hears a noise and tries to steel himself through exhortation: "Courage!

aber ich dachte weder an das Fleisch, weder an den Hund und noch weniger an die Pistolen; sondern duckte mich unter dem Bette auf Furcht zu einer Kugel zusammen..." (p. 94). Such an episode prepares the way for straightforward ironic use of the word, such as when during a robbery attempt he reports "vor großem Courage lag ich noch ganz still auf der Erde" (p. 266), or after the previously alluded to scatological brush with balloon travel, "ich... hab aus Courage meine Hosen so zugerichtet, daß ich zween Tage hindurch daran zu waschen hatte" (p. 269). Prosch's benefactors of course view his 'valor' in this way as well. "Itzt hast du deine Courage gezeigt" says one (p. 161), after Prosch has beaten a hasty retreat from the wild boar. Later he regales a noblewoman with tales of his Parisian journey. "worüber sie nicht wenig lachte, weil sie meine Courage kannte" (p. 296). The reader is meant to take the same view. Rather than describing his fear, on some dangerous occasions he says only: "Wer mich und mein Courage kennt, kann sich einbilden, wie mir zumute war" (p. 183); "Wer, meine Courage kennt, der stelle sich an meinen Platz" (p. 209).

In his relations with the courts, then, Prosch deliberately simplifies and stylizes his account of his behavior so that it conforms to his societal role. To be sure, other characteristics can be found in the autobiography, such as perseverance against enemies and shrewd business sense. As an example of the former one should call attention to his eventual victory over his hometown rival, "die Pachmayerin," who tries to reacquire the inn she has

sold to Prosch by setting up a nearly impossible payment schedule (p. 244); as to the latter, one notices how mercantile considerations are not far from our parvenu's mind, even in times of sorrow: "Ich...war untröstlich, meinen besten Fürsten nicht mehr zu sehen; ich rehrte immerfort und war bei der Tafel gar nicht zu brauchen; denn meine halbe Nahrung und mein Verdienst war nun weg, mein Konzept in der Handelschaft war mir verdorben" (p. 231). But these aspects of his personality are only implicit in the text, visible, if one looks for them, in the flow of the narrative. Prosch does not emphasize them through the constant repetition of stock phrases, the way he does with his servile likability and comical cowardice. For after all, the court does not want to see Prosch as a person of resolve or acumen, but as a likable fool. Indeed, a great deal--though not all--of his identity is dependent upon how the court perceives him. At least while he is within its confines the court is nearly capable of reducing Prosch to nothingness, as the following light-hearted but not insignificant episode illustrates. After a day's unexcused absence, Prosch attempts to return to court. He finds himself surrounded by fifteen armed guards, swords drawn, who ask him who he is and what his business might be. Eventually, he is given passage and goes to the prince. But the prince, like the guards before him, seems not to recognize him. In fact, from no one at court can he wrest assurance that he is indeed Peter Prosch, for all address him as a stranger. Finally, after a little pantomime, which sees Prosch jumping up and down in front

of the prince demanding to be recognized, and the prince turning away, the ruler breaks the spell: "'Grüß dich Gott, Peter! was treibst du dann? Ich habe alles gehört, aber dich nicht gesehen'" (p. 179). Prosch reflects briefly on the experience: "Kurz: so weit brachten sie es, daß ich mir wahrhaft einbildete, ich wäre unsichtbar gewesen; denn man glaubts nicht, wenn bei einem Hofe viele einander helfen und in ein Horn blasen, so ist es keine Kunst, einen konfus und ganz närrisch zu machen" (pp. 179-180). As Wythenow observes, though without mentioning this episode, Prosch is manipulated "bis an den Punkt wo sogar seine eigene Identität ihm fragwürdig wurde."¹⁰

But if upon occasion his identity becomes questionable, it is never erased entirely. Prosch's account of himself does not live up to Weintraub's definition of individuality; that is, it is not an account of "that one specific form of humanity which only he represents," but a simplified, stylized portrayal of the author, the broad outlines and boundaries of which are prescribed by the social role which he has adopted. But to assume that Prosch thinks of himself only as mindlessly amiable and ridiculously cowardly would be an oversimplification. He dares not emphasize them, but he at least includes in his narrative a clear if unobtrusive account of his rise in the world through perseverance and shrewdness. And occasionally, he puts compliments in other people's mouths which are intended to counterbalance the impression created by all the tomfoolery. "'Bruder,'" [says a princess,]

"er ist der einzige Narr, den ich leiden kann--er ist brav, schwätzt nicht, und kann gescheit sein, wenn er will'" (p. 155). And he is quite conscious of "meines Lebens Seltenheit," of how successful he has been. For in the course of the narrative it is mentioned (p. 180) that other men from Ried have become patent medicine peddlars, as he had been in the beginning. But none has travelled to Paris nor gained as much distinction as he has. Prosch is rather pleased with the astonishment of the locals upon his return from Paris: "Alle meine Bekannten und Nachbarn hatten schon aus den Zeitungen und auch sonst vernommen, daß ich in Paris gewesen bin....ich war also sogar in meiner Heimat und meiner ordentlichen Tyrolerkleidung ein Wunderthier wie in Paris.... Sie konnten nicht genug verwundern, daß ich so weit in der Welt herumgekommen bin. Ich hatte ehevor braungelockte, itzt aber gelbe glatte Haare; sie konnten es sich aber nicht beifallen lassen, daß es eine Perücke wäre; sie wußten, daß ich unter ihnen geboren, aufgewachsen und der Koppen Peterl wäre, konnten aber nicht begreifen, daß ich itzt so galant und ausländisch aussähe" (pp. 300-301). While unable to portray his individuality in any depth, at least he demonstrates an awareness of the uniqueness of his career. Wuthenow writes, "Sein Selbstgefühl entfaltet sich an seinem wirtschaftlichen Erfolg,"¹¹ and it is his pride in his success that gives his self-characterization some additional qualities beyond those he must accentuate as a Hoftyroler.

Brandes: Meine Lebensgeschichte

Brandes' Meine Lebensgeschichte is more typical of late eighteenth century German autobiography than Prosch's "Kuriosum". Like most of the autobiographies to be examined in later chapters, Brandes' Lebensgeschichte was written with didactic intent. That it is primarily the story of his early youth which Brandes intends to serve as instruction is made clear in the preface.

Bei diesen Betrachtungen [über die herrschenden Hauptfehler der Jugend] erinnerte ich mich lebhaft an meine eigene Jugendgeschichte, und mit offenem Herzen erzählte ich meinem Freunde einige besonders interessante Szenen aus derselben; die erregten seine Aufmerksamkeit; auf sein Verlangen gab ich ihm noch einige ähnliche mit mehrerem Zusammenhange, worauf er endlich äußerte, daß er sich nicht leicht eines Beispiels erinnere, wo verwahrloste Erziehung und jugendliche Unbesonnenheit so unglückliche Folgen nach sich gezogen hätten; und riet mir, die Geschichte meines Lebens nicht im Dunkeln zu lassen, sondern sie, ohne längeren Verzug, dem Publikum und manchen leichtsinnigen Jünglingen zur Warnung, durch den Druck bekanntzumachen.¹²

And it will be Brandes' youth, with its central episode of an eighteen-month solitary wandering as a runaway, which will occupy most of our attention here. There are several reasons for this. For one thing, it is during the account of his youth that Brandes manages most successfully to impart an impression of himself as an individual. This may be because people often come to know themselves better during unusual situations, and if these

experiences are recorded, this self-knowledge is imparted to the reader. In his Italienische Reise, Goethe remarks: "Die Individualität eines Menschen ist ein wunderlich Ding, die meine hab' ich jetzt recht kennen lernen, da ich einerseits dieses Jahr bloß von mir selbst abgehängt habe, und von der anderen Seite mit völlig fremden Menschen umzugehen hatte."¹³ Also we may remember Pascal's statement that "in the autobiography proper the attention is focused on the self, in the memoir or reminiscence on others."¹⁴ This distinction is relevant to Brandes' Lebensgeschichte because when he describes his solitary journey, he must talk about himself, whereas afterwards, when he has become a part of the theatre world, he tends to speak more about those around him. In other words, the first part of Brandes' life story, although perhaps giving more room to external fact and less to inner experience than the modern reader might like, is close to "autobiography proper," while as Wuthenow observes, "die Lebensgeschichte Brandes mündet in Theater-memoiren...."¹⁵ Also, Neumann's assertion that autobiography describes "das Leben des noch nicht sozialisierten Menschen," whereas memoir begins "mit der Übernahme der sozialen Rolle,"¹⁶ while perhaps not as universally applicable as he would like, seems here to be quite to the point.

It is also useful to concentrate on the first part of Brandes' Lebensgeschichte because it can be compared to Karl Philipp Moritz's Anton Reiser. Like Moritz, Brandes concerns himself with

adolescent illusions, with the danger of retreating from an unpleasant real world into a make-believe one inspired primarily by novels. However, Brandes presents this theme much more primitively, with far less literary skill and psychological depth.

Before launching his own story, Brandes begins with a journey undertaken by his father. Upon receiving a letter from a dying brother, naming him as principal beneficiary in his will, Brandes' father sets out for Amsterdam. The family hears nothing for many months. Then suddenly the father reappears: "Nur mit Mühe konnte man ihn erkennen. Sein Gesicht war blaß und eingefallen, die Stimme schwach, sein Gang schwankend; die Augen lagen tief im Kopfe, und überall drängte sich der Knochenbau hervor" (p. 3). The reasons for this metamorphosis constitute a nearly Jobian catalogue of misfortune. His brother had signed everything over to his housekeeper shortly before death, and she will part with nothing. What little money Brandes' father had of his own is pocketed by unscrupulous lawyers, who promise fat settlements, only to renege. On the way home he is shipwrecked, becomes seriously ill, and is saved from blindness only by the intervention of a kind-hearted doctor, who gives him the name of a specialist as well as the money to cover the operation. On foot, penniless, and weak of vision, the broken man returns home. The narrative presents Brandes' father as at the mercy of fate, with little capacity to influence his destiny, and largely at the whim of whomever or whatever he encounters. This foreshadows Brandes' own

adventures, and this is probably his intention, for when he returns there is a similar scene of non-recognition (p. 80). In a later chapter we shall see that Seume's description of his father also foreshadows what he has to say about himself.

Brandes' own story contains an even more hair-raising series of episodes, from which he is lucky to escape with his life, and which certainly must have made any eighteenth-century youth reading it think twice about deserting an apprenticeship. His plans to make his way to Amsterdam properly outfitted with money and a suitcase are discovered by his master, and to escape the shame of punishment he flees the house with just the shirt on his back. The youth, aged fourteen, spends eighteen months on his own, much of the time as a vagabond and beggar, but finding odd jobs as well. Encountering among his employers both good Samaritans and tyrants, he finds himself working as a field hand, carpenter's apprentice, swineherd, and even as an aide to a traveling quack. The narrative provides posterity with a glimpse of the hardness of life in a largely pre-industrial society, in which goods are scarce, people travel on foot, and all but a privileged few spend their days on earth in heavy labor, doing work now done by machines. Brandes is at the mercy of the elements and the inhabitants of the North German and Polish countryside, both of which can be brutal. Sometimes they appear to be acting in concert.

Zur Vergrößerung meines Elendes regnete und stürmte es den ganzen Tag und die Nacht hindurch unaufhörlich. Wieder so bettelarm, wie vor einigen Monaten, vom Regen gleichsam gebadet, von Kälte bis ins Mark durchdrungen und kein Obdach, kein Funke Mitleid bei den noch wachenden Bewohnern, welche zwar auf mein Pochen die Tür halb öffneten, aber solche auch sogleich bei meinem Anblick wieder zuwarfen--dies alles brachte mich gänzlich außer Fassung. Der Regen wurde immer heftiger und strömte gleichsam auf mich herab. Ohne die mindeste Hoffnung auf Schutz und Rettung, lief ich voller Verzweiflung blind vor mich hin und stürzte einige Male über Steine und Wurzeln, wodurch Hände, Füße und selbst das Gesicht empfindlich geschädigt wurden. Endlich entging mir alle Kraft, und ich sank erstarret und halb ohnmächtig zu Boden. (p. 61)

At other times the human cruelty--even more oppressive because it is intentional--is quite sufficient on its own. "'Da liege und verrecke, lutherischer Hund!' hörte ich die Stimme des grausamen Gärtners aus Cartine schallen, der sich mir nun mit einem mächtig großen Knittelstocke darstellte, mir noch außer einigen Fußtritten unter abwechselnden deutschen und polnischen Flüchen eine ziemliche Anzahl Risse gab und endlich davonging" (p. 53). This is Brandes' description of the scene in which a former cruel master happens upon him once again. This encounter leaves Brandes "betäubt und vom Blute triefend" (p. 53), and helping with a harvest has similar consequences, as the gardener had kept his shoes "als eine Art von Bürgschaft" (p. 52) while he did his chores.

Barfuß betrat ich also die Stoppeln und zeigte den möglichsten guten Willen; allein nach Verlauf einer halben Stunde waren meine Füße

bis an die Knöchel geschunden und ich sank kraftlos zur Erde. Die Schnitter hatten Mitleid mit mir, trösteten mich mit der Versicherung, daß sich die Füße mit der Zeit schon abhärten würden, und schickten mich mit einem beladenen Wagen ins Dorf zurück, um dort wenigstens abladen zu helfen; aber auch dieser Arbeit waren meine Kräfte nicht gewachsen. Der Bauer, welcher mein Unvermögen für Faulheit und Eigensinn hielt, wurde darüber ungeduldig, ergriff die Peitsche, hieb mich tüchtig durch und nahm mich hierauf wieder mit ins Feld zu den Schnittern, um dort die Garben binden zu helfen. (p. 52)

Other examples of gratuitous cruelty could be given, such as the village innkeeper and magistrate who robs, beats, and sets dogs upon the youth, who has unwittingly infringed upon the innkeeper's tobacco monopoly by peddling.

Why has Brandes left a secure apprenticeship and exposed himself to the danger of these and other brutal men? Curiously enough, within the narrative of the adventure, the youth does not even ask himself this question until nearly the end of his journey.

In diesem Zeitraume war es, wo ich zum ersten Male mit unbewölkter Seele über meinen Zustand ernsthaft Betrachtungen anstellte. Ich empfand jetzt das ganze Schreckliche meiner Lage, übersah alle Folgen meiner Unbesonnenheit und blickte mit Schauern in die Zukunft! Mein ganzes Elend entstand aus jenem einzigen unseligen Schritte, wozu mich das Lesen mancher schlechten Romane und verführerischer Reisebeschreibungen vorbereitet, und der mich so gleich unmittelbar dem Hunger, der Blöße, der Verachtung meiner Nebenmenschen und so manchen Lebensgefahren unausgesetzt preisgegeben

hatte. In diesem Zustande hatte ich nun beinahe anderthalb Jahr zugebracht,.... (p. 62)

To be sure, Brandes as narrating self has prepared the reader for this passage with an earlier one, which explains how the idea of going to Amsterdam entered his youthful mind in the first place. Speaking of the genre Reisebeschreibung he observes: "Aus diesen Büchern lernte ich nun eine ganz neue, mir bisher noch unbekannte Welt kennen. Robinson Crusoe, die Insel Felsenburg, der amerikanische Freibeuter und mehrere dergleichen abenteuerliche Romane wurden gleichsam von mir verschlungen; ich hielt alle darin enthaltenen glänzenden Schilderungen für Wahrheiten, fing an, mein Vaterland zu verachten, mich nach jenen oder ähnlich beglückten Ländern zu sehnen, und Holland schien mir der Mittelpunkt zu sein, woraus ich am bequemsten dahin gelangen könnte" (pp. 23-24). There are other negative remarks about novels, usually equating them with deception of some kind. When he must lie to an uncle about the nature and purpose of his journey, Brandes fancies his alibi a "sehr klug ausgesonnenen Roman" (p. 31). Another time a rather complicated intrigue involves a woman tempting a man she otherwise would not have considered, and as the man begins to go for the bait, Brandes, commissioned to spy on them, observes that "der Roman" might become "ernsthaft" (p. 119), now that the suitor is wooing so tempestuously. The first day--a gloriously sunny one--of his unfortunate journey finds the young Brandes entertaining "manche romanhafte Vorstellungen

von unerwarteten Glücksfällen" (p. 29); and even after his many sobering experiences, mention of the sea remains "ein Zünder, der die ehemaligen romanhaften Pläne von neuem in mir erregte" (p. 94).

This bears a resemblance to Anton Reiser, for whom reading is "ein Opium,"¹⁷ and who, like the young Brandes, comes to confuse the real world and the world of novels. But here the similarity ends. Reading inflames Reiser's imagination, and the reader of Anton Reiser is given a detailed account of the mental processes set in motion by adventure novels, and later by other literature as well. But in Brandes the imagination, which kindles within him the idea of flight, is, according to his account, extinguished by the severity of the conditions he encounters. So, instead of a description of an inner life, which would enhance our perception of the author's individuality, the reader is several times informed of its absence. After learning from another youth how to beg, Brandes writes, "So erhielt ich in kurzer Zeit Übung in dem Fache, wurde sogar ein spekulativer Bettler, bediente mich der angegebenen Vorteile, dachte in einer Art Betäubung lange Zeit an nichts, als an meinen täglichen Unterhalt, gewöhnte mich nach und nach an diese Lebensart, und so bettelte ich mich unvermerkt bis an die Tore von Danzig durch" (p. 39). This condition continues even when his life improves a little, as when he enjoys fairly easy duties with the itinerant quack: "So verstrich der Rest des Sommers bei immer

gleichen Geschäften, und bei dieser einförmigen, eben nicht sehr beschwerlichen Lebensart befand ich mich so wohl, daß nie ein Blick in die Zukunft und nur selten Rückerinnerung bei mir stattfand" (p. 57). He ends this existence only when he begins to regret how he has gone through the world so 'benumbed' ("ohne Gefühl und Nachdenken die Welt durchstürmt")(p. 62).

This numbness, natural enough in someone as terrified and often undernourished as Brandes was, severely limits his capacity for self-description. Recalling that Brandes' life story is intended "manchen leichtsinnigen Jünglingen zur Warnung" (pp. xiii-xiv), it is not surprising to find the author blaming this somewhat vague character trait of 'thoughtlessness' for various errors in judgement. He hesitates for a while about leaving home penniless, but "endlich entschied mein Leichtsinn" (p. 29). He hesitates also about continuing on to Danzig, but again "endlich siegte mein gewöhnlicher Leichtsinn" (p. 37). In another passage he regrets "den Leichtsinn, der mich so manchen Gefahren ausgesetzt und jetzt beinahe an den äußersten Rand des Verderbens gebracht hatte" (p. 62). This same thoughtlessness or lack of reflection also appears as Unbesonnenheit. A narrow and dangerous escape is called an "unbesonnene Entweichung" (p. 35), and his woes are seen as "Folgen meiner Unbesonnenheit" (p. 62).

An important aspect of Brandes' ill-considered decisions is timidity, a failure to stand fast and take the consequences of his

actions. When some petty embezzlements of his come to light, Brandes precipitously leaves his apprenticeship, "der mir bevorstehenden öffentlichen Schande und Strafe zu entrinnen" (p. 27), and flees from his uncle in Stargard when his fabrications crumble under scrutiny. Flight quickly becomes a pattern during his adventures, though with more justification. During his wanderings he overhears various people whispering about him, including a soldier and his wife, the innkeeper-tobacconist, and even the relatively benign quack. No wonder that Brandes describes himself as "schüchtern und flüchtig wie ein gejagtes Reh" (p. 53), and observes that he has been made "äußerst schüchtern" through "so manche Mißhandlungen von meinen Mitmenschen" (p. 61). Lack of adequate reflection (Unbesonnenheit) and the resultant timidity are the dominant aspects of his characterization of himself as a youth. This is as close as Brandes comes to "die innere Geschichte des Menschen,"¹⁸ to a glimpse of individuality.

In the remainder of Meine Lebensgeschichte Brandes writes about himself in a curiously depersonalized way. He marries and has children, but we do not see him as a husband and father so much as a theatre director who tries to manage the careers of his talented wife and daughter. And we seldom hear of him on stage, except for an account of comical mistakes as a neophyte (p. 107). For the most part we encounter him in his capacity as theatre manager, trying to resolve the endless disputes within the companies, to gain favorable contracts, to retain good actors, etc.

In general he appears much less as an actor and playwright than as a man running a business--what I have referred to as a Bieder-mann or good citizen. For Brandes there seems to be no conflict between the individual as artist and the individual as citizen. But the citizen appears to dominate. Wuthenow writes:

Bürger und Künstler stehen hier noch in keinem Gegensatz,...Vielmehr muß man sagen, daß hier der Künstler als Bürger erscheint. Auch als Autor ist Brandes 'bürgerlich;' man muß Goldonis Memoiren danebenhalten, um die unendlich viel reicher aufgefaßte Welt, die reichere Darstellungsweise, den weitgespannten Erlebnishorizont, ja, den Erzähler als Schauspieler zu begreifen. Das ist dann auch mehr als der Unterschied von deutschem und italienischem 'Naturell.' Vielmehr wird deutlich, unter welchen Mühen, Entbehrungen und Qualen das Individuum in Deutschland zur Entfaltung kommt--wenn es dazu kommt. Verglichen mit dem ausgeprägten Selbstbewußtsein Goldonis wirkt das von Brandes nahezu verkümmert.

Upon reaching adulthood, then, Brandes assumes the social role of industrious citizen. It is not surprising that upon finding his place in society he comes to reject his past: "So gewöhnte ich mich immer mehr an eine anständige Lebensart und sah nun mit Unwillen, Verachtung und Reue auf meinen ehemaligen wüsten Lebenswandel, wo ich gleichsam durch die Welt gestürmt, keine wahren Freuden gekannt und meines Lebens wenig oder gar nicht genossen hatte, zurück" (p. 176).

However, it is interesting to note that his youthful characteris-

tics of poor decision-making (a consequence of Unbesonnenheit) and timidity, while more clearly seen in the narration of his adolescence, also accompany him into adult life. We shall briefly call attention to three examples of each. An amusing example of his timidity is his bumbling 'reserve' when a woman genuinely fond of him practically trumpets her willingness to be seduced by him (pp. 161-163). Another example is his willingness to endure numerous insults and humiliations from a troupe manager: he resigns only as a last resort ("endlich notgedrungen") (pp. 220-221). Finally, his wife accuses him of "Schwachheit" (p. 327) in cases of conflict between herself and other actors he is directing. And, as in his youth, Brandes often makes the wrong decision. In regards to the woman unintentionally spurned he writes: "Durch meine ganz unverzeihliche Einfalt und Unbesonnenheit hatte ich nicht allein eine liebenswürdige und reiche Frau, welche mich so innig geliebt hatte, auf das empfindlichste beleidigt, sondern auch das größte Glück, welches mir der Himmel in ihrem Besitze gewähren konnte, auf immer verscherzt" (pp. 172-173). Another time he regrets a position he did not accept: "Sehr oft stieg nun Reue in mir auf, das Anerbieten des Hofes, der sich von jeher so liebevoll gegen mich betragen hatte, nicht angenommen zu haben, aber leider war dieser übereilte Schritt nun einmal geschehen, ohne ihn widerrufen zu können" (p. 272). And just as the youthful tobacco-peddler ends up in a village administered by a brutal tobacco-monopolist, so chance does not seem to favor the older Brandes either: "Kaum hatte ich den Kontrakt mit der Mannheimer

Theaterdirektion unterzeichnet, so erhielt ich ein Schreiben von dem Grafen Collowrath...der mich...aufforderte, die Direktion eines stehenden Theaters, welches auf deren Kosten errichtet werden sollte, gegen einen ansehnlichen Gehalt und andere sehr vorteilhafte Bedingungen zu übernehmen. Zu spät kam dieser Antrag, den ich einige Tage früher mit Vergnügen angenommen haben würde" (p. 305). Despite the memoir-like nature of the latter part of Meine Lebensgeschichte, and despite Brandes' rejection of his past, traces of the individual characteristics given expression in the account of adolescence remain. To the end of his days Brandes remains something of an underdog, often victimized by circumstance.

Schubart: Leben und Gesinnungen

Insofar as he is remembered at all today, Schubart's most enduring accomplishments appear to have been the poems, "Die Fürstengruft" and "Das Kaplied", not to mention "Die Forelle", although this last item is perhaps more commonly associated with the composer Schubert rather than the writer of the verses. To his contemporaries he was also known as the spirited journalist of the Deutsche Chronik, as well as an inspired improviser at the piano, aspects of his talents which are largely forgotten today. But one important highlight of Schubart's career has been cast into prominence by contemporaries and posterity alike. As Ulrich Karthaus notes, "...in jedem Falle hat die Gefangenschaft

Schubarts Popularität außerordentlich gesteigert, ja, man darf vermuten, daß er ihr seine Berühmtheit bis zum heutigen Tage verdankt."²⁰ Indeed, upon hearing it mentioned, those familiar with the name Schubart today will probably, and perhaps involuntarily, think first of his imprisonment. It was of decisive importance for the man--and for his autobiography as well. No one can doubt that both his life and his account of it--had he come to write one without the opportunity for reflection provided by incarceration--would have been radically different had not Karl Eugen lured him on to Württemberg territory and confined him (without charges) for more than ten years to the Hohenasperg fortress. Schubart was kept in a small isolated cell ("das Schubartloch," still visible today) for more than a year (377 days). His warder (until 1782) was the formidable Kommandant Rieger, who himself had been confined for four years in even harsher conditions than Schubart's, and had undergone a religious conversion.²¹ "'Sie haben Schiffbruch gelitten'... 'und nur noch ein Brett ist für Sie übrig--die Religion!'" (II, pp. 14-15), Rieger informs Schubart. After study of the Bible, readings of exegetical works by the leading lights of Swabian Pietism, and personal visits by one of their number,²² Schubart undergoes a conversion as well. He comes to believe that his imprisonment, and more particularly imprisonment under this warder, is divinely ordained. "Ich fand gar bald, daß es Gott so gelenkt hat, mich just diesem und keinem andern in die Zucht zu geben," he writes (II, p. 13). He becomes convinced that his captors are agents of

divine goodness rather than human evil: "ich...fand, daß mir Gott durch meine Feinde größere Wohlthaten zufließen ließ, als durch meine Freunde" (II, p. 62).

If his imprisonment is just, then naturally it follows that his former life must have been reprehensible. And by the standards of the time (at least those of the town, if not of the court) and perhaps even by those of our own day, Schubart has some grounds for remorse. After a rebellious childhood ("Ich warf meine Schulbücher in den Bach, schien dumm und trocken, schlief beständig...")(I, p. 18), and an undisciplined university career, he marries a woman completely unlike him in temperament and interests. Thereafter, as F. I. Wiener writes, "Schubart's adult life until he was imprisoned in 1777 is a series of situations in each of which he proved a misfit and almost all of which ended in a catastrophe, prison, expulsion or flight."²³ Wiener cites as examples imprisonment in and subsequent expulsion from Ludwigsburg, his forced departure from Munich, and his arrest and expulsion from Augsburg. His desertion of wife and family, infidelity, and the repeated contraction of venereal disease must have weighed particularly heavily on his conscience.²⁴ The following passages illustrate his prison attitude towards his former life, and appear to repudiate it entirely. He looks back and sees only "Ein Chaos, über dessen Tiefen kein beseelender Geist schwebte!!!--O wie schrecklich fiel mir nun der Mißbrauch meiner schönen Naturgaben auf die Seele; wie gräulte mir vor allem, was

ich gedacht, gesprochen, gethan, geschrieben, wenn es auch den Schein des Guten hatte; in welchen Schreckgestalten traten die Menschen vor mich hin, die mein Unsinn beleidigt hatte; mein armes Weib! meine Kinder! meine Mutter! meine Blutsverwandte! Freunde und Feinde!" (II, p. 17). Elsewhere he describes himself as "ein Spötter der Geistlichkeit, ein geheimer Hasser des obrigkeitlichen Ansehens, ein Lüstling, der die Mädchen für Blumen ansah, die jeder Schmetterling beflattern darf, ein kühner Beurtheiler der wichtigsten Dinge und Personen--mit einem Wort: ein Lasterhafter..." (I, p. 82). This self-contempt is part of the Pietist tradition. The prominent Pietist Spangenberg (1704-1784), for instance, declares in his autobiography: "Der treue Heiland nahm sich...meiner in Gnaden an und gab mir eine solche Einsicht in mein Sündenelend, daß meine Augen darüber nur selten trocken wurden....Er machte mir es so in meinem Herzen, daß ich mich nicht nur für den schlechtesten und gottlosesten unter allen Menschen hielt, sondern ich hielt die allerverachtetste Kreatur für besser als mich selbst...Dabey war der Heiland so gnädig, daß er mir zu erkennen gab, es sey lauter Barmherzigkeit von ihm, daß ich über mein Elend Leid tragen und bitterlich weinen könnte."²⁵ The passages of Spangenberg and Schubart are roughly parallel in content though Schubart, with his usual gusto, is more bombastic. In Schubart's case the remorseful retrospection has a didactic dimension as well, and this will also be true for many of the autobiographers to follow. It is his intention to give to "den Jünglingen meines Vaterlandes" an account of "was

sie zu vermeiden haben, wenn sie weise und glückliche Menschen... werden wollen" (I, p. 9).

In light of Schubart's self-denunciatory passages such as those quoted above (and there are many other such passages strewn through the text), most critics have viewed Schubart's Leben und Gesinnungen as the work of a man entirely broken by his captors. Ulrich Staudenmeyer refers to what Schubart undergoes in prison as "Gehirnwäsche," and calls the autobiography "eine bittere Selbstanklage."²⁶ Schoeller refers to Schubart's "von christlicher Reue tiefenden Erinnerungen,"²⁷ and Wiener to "the pathetic spectacle of Schubart's conversion."²⁸ Other critics, however, take an opposing view and interpret the autobiography as a less than total repudiation of the self. No longer is modern criticism unanimously of the opinion that Schubart's autobiography represents, although patterned on Pietistic accounts of religious conversion, "das Ringen um Gott in der alten pietistischen Form," as Marianne Beyer-Fröhlich wrote in 1930.²⁹ Although Schubart adopts a Pietist tone, particularly in his declamatory, self-flagellating passages, there are significant differences as well. As Günter Niggel has pointed out, the religious conversion does not follow the conventional Pietist pattern. It is presented "nicht im pietistischen Sinne eines plötzlichen Durchbruchs, sondern als allmähliche stufenweise Umwandlung und Wiederbelebung der Seele zum Gnadenstand."³⁰ And Schubart himself is very specific about this: "Ich merke, daß

die Bekehrung, nicht wie ich oft wähnte, eine plötzliche Umschaffung unseres Wesens, sondern eine stufenweise, durch wiederholte Reaktionen, unter Gottes Aufsicht und Beistand gewirkte Wiederherstellung und Verbesserung unsrer innern und äußern Kräfte sey. Es geht oft sehr langsam her, nachdem der Widerstand von Seiten des Menschen groß ist" (II, p. 30). Perhaps the last clause contains a hint as to why Schubart wishes to emphasize this particular point. But whatever the reason, despite his Pietist overseers, Schubart manages to retain some independence of thought, even in religious matters.

Also important is the fact that, despite the many purple passages lamenting his former ways, Schubart's "Selbstanklage" has its limits, as the East German critics Wertheim and Böhm have pointed out: "Genau besehen, beziehen sich seine Selbstvorwürfe aber auf sein privates Leben, und da mochte er zur Selbstkritik Ursache genug haben. Für die Nachwelt sind aber die persönlichen Belange von geringem Interesse; wichtig dagegen ist, daß er gelegentlich zwar ganz allgemein von seinen 'Schriftstellersünden' spricht, aber doch niemals zugibt, daß seine traurige Lage etwa als eine berechtigte Strafe für seine aufrechte Haltung als deutscher Patriot und Publizist anzusehen sei."³¹ This is corroborated by Niggel, who observes that Schubart's "Bekehrungsschema" apparently includes "nur den religiösen und sittlichen Raum (die private Schuld gegen die Familie), nicht die berufliche oder gar die öffentlich-politische Tätigkeit...."³² Schubart also assumes two

rather distinct voices during the writing of his life story. While speaking of himself, he is the breast-beating penitent, but when describing his environment this pathos disappears, and he becomes a chronicler. He does his best, for example, to describe accurately and in some detail the musical circles with which he associated (see I, pp. 93-105 for the musical milieu in Ludwigsburg, II, pp. 153-155 for that of Mannheim). In these chronicle-like sections of the autobiography, Pietist overtones are conspicuously absent. He gives no indication of condemning worldly life entirely, as would an enthusiastic penitent.

Schubart, then, manages to retain more integrity in the face of his captors than it might first appear. Even the turn to religion itself can be interpreted not as their victory, but as a return to habits of mind engendered by his upbringing, as his son Ludwig noted: "Im Grunde waren es Schreckbilder seiner Jugend, ihm von seinem Vater und durch seinen anfänglichen geistlichen Beruf tief eingeprägt, welche seit seinem Eintritt in die größere Welt überhäuft worden waren--und jetzt, in der Gruft seines Felsen, in Riesengestalt erwachten und sein Gewissen marterten" (II, pp. 180-181). In any event, Schubart has not repudiated his former self entirely. But how does he choose to depict that self in the autobiography? As Klaus-Detlef Müller has noticed (and in this part of my discussion I am much indebted to Müller, whose commentary on Schubart is most perceptive), the autobiographer gives himself some good advice, but fails to act on it. Schubart

writes: "Wirkliche Beispiele müssen doch mehr wirken, als die Zeichnungen in Romanen, von welchen alle Welt weiß, daß sie Fiction sind. Es ist in der That ein Urtheil, das uns wenig Ehre macht, wenn wir gewisse Anekdoten in Lebensbeschreibungen klein und unwichtig nennen, die wir doch in Romanen so gern lesen. Man macht daher die Biographen, sonderlich die Autobiographen so furchtsam, daß sie oft diejenigen Umstände unterdrücken, die den Helden just am meisten heben und ihm so zu sagen seine Selbstheit geben würden" (I, p. 90). As Müller comments, "im Grunde wird hier ja schon die Erzählweise des Romans für die Autobiographie gefordert."³³ Here is a call for detailed, individualized narration of characters and events. But Schubart does not employ the techniques he claims to favor. On the contrary, "Durchgängig werden individuelle Erfahrungen zu abstrakten und deshalb nichts-sagenden Katalogen zusammengefaßt."³⁴ As an example Müller quotes Schubart's cursory summary of his student days in Erlangen: "Frei, ungebunden, durchstreift' ich tobender Wildfang, Hörsäle, Wirthshäuser, Konzertsäle, Saufgelage--studirte, rumorte, ritt, tanzte, liebte und schlug mich herum" (I, p. 40). Another example might be how his description of an awakening interest in the opposite sex confines itself to the general: "Mädchenreiz war mit unter allen Reizen, womit der Schöpfer das Antlitz der Natur schmückte, der unwiderstehlichste. Es schien mir auch nichts unschuldigers zu seyn, als dies süße Mienenspiel,..." (I, p. 34). The same generalized, non-specific style is found in his account of his regrettable tendency to be distracted from pious contem-

plation: "So bald mich aber die Welt zum Tanz aufforderte, so stürzte ich leichtsinnig in ihre Reigen und vergaß in der Trunkenheit die fieberhaften Erschütterungen der Andacht" (I, p. 55).

As Müller aptly observes: "Der rückblickende Ich-Erzähler begnügt sich mit der Verneinung seiner Vergangenheit, die deren Vergewärtigung überspringt. Der Akt der Reue liegt schon jenseits der Lebensvorgänge und hebt sie auf, insofern die Identität gestört ist. Über dem Vergangenen liegt so bei allem Bemühen um Aufrichtigkeit ein dichter Schleier des Vergessenwollens."³⁵

However, this veil of forgetfulness is not entirely opaque. As we have seen, Schubart's "Verneinung" of his past life is not total --he has not recanted his activities as "deutscher Patriot und Publizist." This, though, is only implicit in the autobiography: that is, the lack of recantation may be observed and the importance of its absence noted, but Schubart does not emphasize his journalistic activities, although he does not consider them morally wrong. Thus, a curious situation emerges regarding Schubart's account of his individuality. Because his autobiography is confessional in pattern, "wo der Erzähler gleichsam mit Zerknirschung vor das Publikum wie vor einen Beichtstuhl tritt" (I, p. 7), aspects of the self which he has not recanted cannot really be his theme, and must be inferred. As for the negative aspects of self, although full of declamatory passages lamenting the error of his ways, Schubart remains reluctant about revealing that sinfulness in sharp focus.

Ich wurde immer kälter gegen Tugend und Religion, las Freigeister, Religionspötker, Sittenverächter, und Bordelscribenten-- -- und theilte -- o meine größte, heißeste, schwerste Sünde, -- die mir Höllenqual im Kerker machte -- theilte das Gift wieder mit, das ich einsog. Spöttereien und Zoten wurden mir daher so geläufig, daß ich sie oft, wie die Kröte ihren Schaum ausgurgelte, ohne es zu wissen. Ich stürzte von Schande in Schande, ward unverschämt, geil, träge zum Guten, froh, daß ich die papierne Schanze des Unglaubens zur Bedeckung meiner Ausschweifungen aufwerfen konnte, erstickte sogar das Menschengefühl, ward ein Rebell, der sich...mit hohem Haupte, gegen alles Heilige empörte und endlich, mit allen meinen schönen Gaben, mir und meinen Freunden zur Last wurde. (I, p. 114)

With such passages of self-accusation Schubart enthusiastically adopts the role of penitent forced upon him by his captors, but without giving his autobiography "einer der Individualität gemässen Form,"³⁶ because of his reticence to describe (perhaps even to call to mind) his transgressions in a specific, detailed manner.

The narrating self, then, is not the hearty, mercurial Schubart one might have found in an inn "beim Bierkrug und einer Pfeife Tabak" (I, p. 221) dictating his Deutsche Chronik, but Schubart casting himself in the role of penitent. Of course 'penitent' is not a social role like 'fool' or 'citizen'. Rather it is a moral attitude, but, in the eighteenth century, an attitude with its own conventions and rhetoric, as established by the Pietist autobiographical tradition. Remorse is the overwhelming and unremit-

ting characteristic of the narrating self--Müller speaks of the "fast schon hysterisch[es] Sündenbewußtsein[]." ³⁷ Only careful consideration of what is not said indicates that his recantation is less than total, being limited to the private sphere.

Like the narrating self, the narrated self is simplified as well. Through a recurrent series of images Schubart attempts to explain his previous fractiousness by reducing himself largely to a single dominant characteristic--or humor one might almost say. Gerhard Storz refers to Schubart as a "Sanguiniker," ³⁸ and this seems appropriate in that Schubart emphasizes his hot-blooded temperament, and represents it as a dominant trait of character. Schubart speaks of "mein feuriges Naturell" (I, p. 103) and "meine feurige Einbildungskraft" (I, p. 48), as well as "mein... wild loderndes Feuer" (I, p. 114). He acts "mit feurigem Unge- stüm" (I, p. 239) and prays "mit einer...feurigen Seele" (II, p. 8). Of his piano-playing he writes "Ich...phantasierte mit feu- riger-Erfindungskraft,...Ich konnte mich so ins Feuer spielen... daß Alles um mich schwand" (I, p. 50). But more often than he is proud he regrets his "feurig[e] Thorheit" (I, p. 80), or calls himself a "feuriger, offener, herausplatzender Thor" (I, p. 115). With regard to his journalistic activities, he notes, "Ich hatte Feuer, wußte wie die Menschen zu greifen waren" (I, pp. 221-222), but finds that in Germany newspaper writing is "Kein Gewerbe...für ...einen so feurigen Kopf, wie der meinige war" (I, p. 222). Storm imagery is used to describe his impetuosity as well. He

refers to himself as "Sturmkopf" (I, p. 36), and calls attention to "mein stürmisches Temperament" (I, p. 264). Some friends, he observes, "schätzten mich bei allen meinen Fehlern, in der menschenfreundlichen Erwartung, der Sturm würde sich legen" (I, p. 105). Even in prison he is prey to "stürmende Gefühle" (II, p. 45), and, referring to his relationship with God (guided by Hahn of course), he writes, "Das Ungestüm legt sich, wenn die Wahrheit gebietet" (II, p. 89). At least one passage employs both images. His marriage to Helene Bühler is called "die Verbindung des Sturmes mit der Stille, der feurigen Thorheit mit der abgekühlten Vernunft" (I, p. 80). But both images are used to impart the impetuosity which makes Schubart refer to himself as "ich wilder Mensch" (I, p. 66). By presenting the narrated self so much in terms of this one characteristic, Schubart anticipates the authors of the next group, who tend as well to stress a single character trait in their presentation of the self.

Summary

All three of the autobiographers under examination, we have seen, chose to present themselves in terms of a role. Prosch is the best example, very clearly tailoring his behavior in life and his language in the autobiography to fit his role of jester. Brandes, while able to endow himself with some rudimentary individuality during the account of his youth, tends (like Prosch) to portray himself solely in terms of his profession (theatre-director) once

he has attained this position. The characteristics of timidity and thoughtlessness (Unbesonnenheit) remain in the account of adult life, but become muted. Schubart accepts as justified his captors' condemnation of his conduct (at least regarding his private affairs) and the narrating self assumes the role of penitent. This narrating self, however, characterizes the narrated self (the pre-Hohenasperg Schubart) largely by the single characteristic of hotheadedness, which is conveyed by imagery of fire and storm. This stress on one characteristic anticipates the primary strategy of self-interpretation taken by the next three autobiographers under consideration. Finally, each of these three writers, whatever the limitations of their works as autobiographies, renders valuable services as a memoirist. Prosch provides what must be among the last accounts of the numbered days of petty absolutism, and does so from a unique perspective. The latter part of Brandes' life story is a valuable source of information for the history of the German theatre.³⁹ And Schubart, while simplifying his own complex and contradictory personality, provides a rich account of the cultural life of late eighteenth-century southern Germany.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II

- 1 Weintraub, "Autobiography and Consciousness," p. 823.
- 2 May, "Autobiography and the Eighteenth Century," p. 325.
- 3 May, "Autobiography and the Eighteenth Century," p. 325.
- 4 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 157.

5 Peter Prosch, Leben und Ereignisse des Peter Prosch, eines Tyrolers von Ried im Zillerthal, oder das wunderbare Schicksal. Geschrieben in den Zeiten der Aufklärung, ed. Karl Pörnbacher (München: Koselverlag, 1964), p. 9: "Hier wär mein ganzer lebenslauf./ Ihr Herren und Frauen nehmt ihm auf/ Mit Gunst und hohen Gnaden." This statement and express dedications to three individual members of the nobility (pp. 10-11) attest that Prosch is writing to please patrons. However, one should also consider the verse "In unsrer aufgeklärten Zeit/ Kann meines Lebens Seltenheit/ Vielleicht noch manchem dienen./ Er steck die Nase nur hinein;/ Sie wird ihm wahrlich nützlich sein:/ Denn er wird manches innen" (p. 9). This would appear to be directed at people of lower than noble rank. To nobles Prosch's account of his life is a piece of entertainment. But to those below this caste it serves as a warning: "Look how coarse these 'nobles' really are, and see what sort of things you may have to suffer if you want to get ahead," Prosch seems to be saying. (All references will be to this edition, and page numbers will be given in the text.)

- 6 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 161.

- 7 Niggel, Geschichte, p. 87.

8 There seems to be some confusion about the date of birth. Pörnbacher writes in the afterword to Prosch, Leben und Ereignisse: Am 28. Juni 1744 (nicht 1745, wie er selbst schreibt) wurde er als Sohn armer Bauersleute in Ried im Zillerthal geboren" (p. 308). One assumes that Pörnbacher has had access to parish records.

- 9 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 159.
- 10 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 159.
- 11 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 161.

12 Johann Christian Brandes, Meine Lebensgeschichte, ed. Willibald Francke (München: Georg Müller, 1923), pp. xiii-xiv. All references are to this edition, and page numbers will be given in the text.

13 Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Italienische Reise, in Goethes Werke, ed. Erich Trunz (Hamburg: Wegner, 1950), vol. 11, p. 421).

14 Pascal, Design and Truth, p. 5.

15 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 164.

16 Neumann, Identität und Rollenzwang, p. 25.

17 Karl Philipp Moritz, Anton Reiser in Karl Philipp Moritz, Werke (3 vols.), ed. Horst Gunther (Frankfurt: Insel, 1981), vol. I, p. 177. All further references will be to this edition.

18 Moritz, Anton Reiser, p. 36.

19 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 166.

20 Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, Gedichte aus der 'Deutschen Chronik', ed. Ulrich Karthaus (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1978), p. 175.

21 Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, Leben und Gesinnungen, von ihm selbst im Kerker aufgesetzt (1791-1793) in C. F. D. Schubart, Gesammelte Schriften und Schicksale, (8 vols.) (Stuttgart: Scheible, 1839; rpt. Olms, 1972), vol. II, p. 13: "Sein [Rieger's] Zustand war der grausamste, den man sich denken kann. Er sah vier Jahre lang kein Menschenantlitz; denn man haspelte ihm seine sparsame Kost von oben herunter, gab ihm weder Stuhl noch Tisch, kehrte seinen Kerker nie aus, ließ ihm Bart und Nagel wachsen, und erlaubte ihm nicht einmal einen Nachtstuhl, so daß er im Staub und Gestänk hätte zu Grunde gehen sollen." (All further references will be to this edition, and volume and page number will be given in the text.)

22 Swabian Pietists mentioned are Oetinger (II, p. 99), Bengel (II, p. 14), Hollatz (II, p. 21), and Hahn (II, p. 91). Hahn is the one who visits him (II, pp. 88-95).

23 F. I. Wiener, "Schubart's Conversion," in German Life and Letters, 8 (1954-1955), p. 274.

24 Schubart was unfaithful to his wife in Ludwigsburg ("Ein verdächtiger Umgang mit einem Mädchen") (I, p. 117), and hints at the contraction of venereal disease ("O Wollust, wie hast du... meinen Körper zerstört,...") (II, p. 63). This is expressly confirmed by his son Ludwig in his continuation of the Leben und

Gesinnungen: "er...hatte zweimal die ganze Kraft seiner Constitution vonnöthen, um sich das galante Andenken vom Halse zu schaffen,..." (II, p. 102).

25 August Gottlieb Spangenberg, Lebenslauf unseres seligen Bruders August Gottlieb Spangenberg, genannt Joseph, von ihm selbst aufgesetzt (1795), in Deutsche Literatur. Sammlung literarischer Kunst- und Kulturdenkmäler in Entwicklungsreihen. Reihe Deutsche Selbstzeugnisse, ed. Marianne Beyer-Fröhlich (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1933), vol. 7, p. 56.

26 Ulrich Staudenmeyer, Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart --ein schwäbischer Rebell (Heidenheim: Heidenheimer Verlagsanstalt, 1969), p. 16, p. 11.

27 Wilfried F. Schoeller, Schubart: Leben und Meinungen eines schwäbischen Rebellen (Berlin: Wagenbach, 1979), pp. 8-9.

28 F. I. Wiener, "Schubart's Conversion," p. 280.

29 Marianne Beyer-Fröhlich, Die Entwicklung der deutschen Selbstzeugnisse (Leipzig: Reclam, 1930), p. 247.

30 Niggel, Geschichte, p. 91.

31 Schubarts Werke, ed. Ursula Wertheim and Hans Böhm (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 1965), p. 34.

32 Niggel, Geschichte, p. 90.

33 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 51.

34 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, pp. 47-48.

35 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 49.

36 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 46.

37 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 47.

38 Gerhard Storz, Figuren und Prospekte (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1963), p. 67.

39 For example, see Walter H. Bruford, Theatre, Drama, and Audience in Goethe's Germany (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1950), p. 184: "His [Brandes'] Lebensgeschichte is the most informative theatrical autobiography of the century, as he accompanied Seyler later on his wanderings, and worked at Mannheim in its best days, and in Hamburg under Schröder."

III. Individuality Nascent: Laukhard, Maimon, Seume

Unlike Prosch, Brandes and Schubart, the next three authors under consideration do not seek to define themselves in terms of roles. This is not surprising, for none of them, neither Laukhard nor Maimon nor Seume, ever manages to find a suitable role and to establish himself firmly within society. All to a great extent remain outsiders throughout their lives. Müller sums up Laukhard's situation: "Laukhards Lebensproblem war eine fehlgeleitete und mißglückte Sozialisation: trotz guter Anlagen und trotz einer ausreichenden und insgesamt sehr verständnißvollen Förderung gelang es ihm nicht, eine seinen Voraussetzungen und seinen Fähigkeiten entsprechende soziale Stellung zu erlangen."¹ Similarly Maimon, a rather difficult and eccentric personality, was either unable or unwilling to fulfill the wishes of his wealthy patrons and was, according to his most recent editor, "von fast allen seinen früheren Gönnern verlassen und verbittert"² by the time he composed his autobiography. And his most comprehensive modern commentator, Inge Stephan, points out that Seume too remained largely outside the social order: "Eine Integration in die durch Herkunft und Bildung privilegierten Gesellschaftsschichten des Adels und Bürgertums war ihm verwehrt, und an die bedeutenden Gruppen und Persönlichkeiten des literarischen und philosophischen Geisteslebens seiner Zeit fand er keinen Anschluß."³

It is worth noting that this social disorientation was lifelong for these authors. All three died lonely and impoverished, forgotten by all but a few close friends despite their literary careers, which in all cases include works besides their autobiographies.

Unable to arrive at a self-image based upon a role, these authors, it will be argued, seek to define their individuality largely in terms of a single character trait, which they view as definitive. This is most clearly seen in Seume, who characterizes both himself and his father as people for whom it was impossible "Ungerechtigkeit sehen zu können, ohne sich mit Unwillen und nicht selten mit Bitterkeit darüber zu äussern."⁴ Seume organizes the presentation of both himself and his father around the central characteristic of a rough, uncompromising integrity. In Salomon Maimon's Meine Lebensgeschichte the intellect is predominant. As Ralph-Rainer Wuthenow writes, "die Lebensgeschichte dieses Mannes ist der Weg seines Denkens,"⁵ and the autobiography is organized to trace the development of Maimon's Vernunft or reasoning power. Maimon thus defines himself for the most part through the characteristic of intellectuality. In the case of Laukhard the predominant characteristic is less readily apparent. In fact, one is tempted to say cynically that his lack of character is his main characteristic. That is, Laukhard does not shy away from telling the reader of actions (such as espionage or serving with an emigré army) which stand in direct con-

tradiction to personal principles and opinions also expressed in the autobiography. Laukhard excuses such actions with the self-designated dominant character trait of Leichtsinn. So, somewhat like Brandes in his account of his youth, Laukhard overtly presents himself primarily as thoughtless, rash and reckless. Covertly, however, through the content and tone of his commentary on public affairs and the issues of his day, he seeks to provide the reader with a different account of the self, as we shall see.

Laukhard: Leben und Schicksale (1795 - 1802)

If nothing else, Laukhard's life was at least restless and full of adventure. Born in 1757 (not in 1758 as he informs the reader),⁶ Laukhard was the son of a Protestant clergyman whose liberal views contrasted sharply with the regressive orthodoxy of most Palatinate clergy. From childhood on Laukhard held views different from those common in his social milieu. His education was casual, and much of the time he was left in the hands of a wine-loving maiden aunt, who early introduced the youth to what was to become for him a life-long favorite vice. After an early but ill-starred love affair (the object of his affections was Catholic), Laukhard, though lacking any genuine religious conviction, took up the study of theology at Giessen. But his primary interests were drinking and fisticuffs, the main components of Burschenherrlichkeit at that university. Later his father sent him to Göttingen, where the student life was less

coarse. Despite his predilection for diversion he was successful enough at his studies to qualify for a vicarage in his native Palatinate. But due to loose living and making no secret of his liberal, anti-dogmatic religious opinions, he found himself removed from this position in relatively short order. To straighten the young man out, his father sent him to Halle to study, where for a time he boarded at the house of the well-known theologian Dr. Semler. For a while he trod the straight and narrow; Laukhard became a Magister, and with this title came the privilege of lecturing at the university. But financial difficulties arose, and when not rescued by his father (which had always happened before), he undertook the step which so astounded his contemporaries: he became a Prussian soldier. He took part in the 1790 Prussian campaign against Austria, but, more importantly, was a soldier of the joint Austro-Prussian force under the command of the Duke of Brunswick. This force was decisively defeated by the French under Dumouriez at Valmy in September of 1792. Later the Prussian command requested Laukhard to 'desert' to the French-held city of Landau, where Dentzel, an acquaintance of Laukhard's, occupied an important position in the French revolutionary army. His mission to persuade Dentzel to work towards a peaceful surrender of Landau failed, and later Laukhard was transferred with other foreigners to the interior of France, where he witnessed first-hand the effects of the revolution on French life in Strasbourg, Besançon, Colmar, Lyon and Avignon. His experiences in the French interior extend from January, 1794,

to February, 1795, the time of the dominance in government of Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety, as well as the beginning of the Thermidorian reaction. With the help of a forged passport Laukhard left France in February 1795, and served briefly, as necessity dictated, with Swabian and emigré units before returning to Prussia. Laukhard hoped to secure a university post from the Prussian king on the strength of his mission to Landau, but his repeated entreaties were to no avail. The rest of Laukhard's life was spent in poverty and obscurity. He was married in 1797, and in the last volume of his autobiography (unavailable to me) reports on his unhappy domestic circumstances. Although Meusel's Gelehrte Teutschland reported him dead in 1806, it is known that he was removed from a position as preacher in Veitsrodt (in the Saar region) in 1807.⁷ He ended his days as a private tutor in Kreuznach, where he died in 1822.

At this point a word needs to be said about editions. Klaus-Detlef Müller, who had access to the six-volume original, complains that "Spätere Ausgaben, die leichter zugänglich sind, sind in einer Weise gekürzt, die den Gesamteindruck des Werkes verfälscht."⁸ Specifically, he mildly criticizes Wuthenow's comments on Laukhard in Das erinnerte Ich, noting "Allerdings akzentuiert Wuthenow leider im Sinne der bisherigen Neuausgaben, d.h. das Hauptgewicht liegt bei den ersten Bänden mit den Universitätserfahrungen und dem Feldzug in der Champagne."⁹ However, in North America the original edition is a part of a few exclu-

sive rare books collections and was inaccessible to the present writer. The edition available to me, Magister Laukhards Leben und Schicksale, von ihm selbst beschrieben (2 volumes), ed. Viktor Petersen (Stuttgart: Schramm, 1908), extends well beyond the 1792 campaign culminating in the defeat at Valmy, and concludes with Laukhard's release from the Prussian army in the summer of 1795. Petersen explains his abridgement with these words: "Was Laukhard aus seinem Leben nach dem Abschied von der Reichsarmee mitteilt, entbehrt durchweg des tieferen Interesses. Besonders der Schlußband, der wohl lediglich um des Erwerbes willen nach einer Pause von fünf Jahren den vorangegangenen nachgesandt wurde, bietet uns kein erfreuliches Bild. Nichts als Stadtklatsch, Gezänk mit seinen Feinden und eine Preisgebung seiner inneren häuslichen Verhältnisse, die nicht gerade angenehm berührt."¹⁰ From these words ("Besonders der Schlußband") it can be seen that Petersen has excluded a part of the original volume five and all of the original volume six from his two-volume edition. But by far the greater part of Laukhard's autobiography is included in Petersen's edition, more than enough to gain an impression of Laukhard's individuality, especially as even Müller calls the later volumes "im strengen Sinne autobiographisch weniger ergiebigen Schilderungen."¹¹

However, Laukhard's Leben und Schicksale is usually approached as memoir, not autobiography. This emphasis on the memoir-like

aspect of the text is encouraged by Laukhard himself, who contrasts his personal insignificance with the vast upheaval of the French Revolution: "Mein Individuum ist indes immer das Geringste, was dieses Werk dem Publikum interessant machen soll. Ich war Zuschauer und Mitakteur, obgleich einer der geringsten, wenngleich nicht gerade einer der kurzsichtigsten, auf einem Theater, worauf eine der merkwürdigsten Tragikomödien unseres Jahrhunderts aufgeführt worden ist" (vol. II, p. 6). Critics have followed suit. Wuthenow writes that the reader of Laukhard's Leben und Schicksale is concerned "weniger mit einer Autobiographie als vielmehr mit einem besonderen Typus der Memoirenliteratur."¹² Müller calls Laukhard's autobiography "das entgegengesetzte Extrem zum konsequenten Subjektivismus"¹³ -- of which (in his view) Moritz's Anton Reiser is the best example.

And certainly, Laukhard has often been read not for what he tells us about himself, but what he tells us about his times. The nineteenth-century Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie calls the autobiography "eine der Hauptquellen für die Kultur- und Sittengeschichte Deutschlands in der zweiten Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts."¹⁴ The literary historian Robert Prutz, also writing in the nineteenth century, called Laukhard's descriptions of student life "Kehrbilder des damaligen akademischen Lebens," and said that they deserved the attention "von Jedem, der die deutschen Zustände jener Epoche näher kennen lernen will."¹⁵ In the early twentieth century, Petersen observed that Laukhard's

autobiography is one of a number of texts which may help to counteract the tendency to over-idealize the age of German Classicism: "Wie falsch ist es doch, sich den allgemeinen Bildungszustand zur Blütezeit unserer klassischen Literatur, die auch die Epoche unserer großen Philosophen war, weit erhaben über dem heutigen zu denken! Das Gegenteil war der Fall, wenn auch zugegeben werden muß, daß Deutschland und andere Länder damals über eine ungewöhnlich reiche Zahl erster Geister verfügten. Gerade Laukhards Schriften gehören zu denen, die da zeigen, wie wenig tief die breiteren Schichten der zeitgenössischen Gesellschaft von der gepriesenen Humanität des Klassizismus durchtränkt, ja, wie roh und ungebildet sie geblieben waren" (vol. I, p. viii). This view of the Leben und Schicksale as an important documentary source is sustained in the sparse modern commentary on Laukhard. In a 1963 article Peter Lahnstein refers to Laukhard's "kultur- und sittengeschichtlich höchst bedeutsame Memoiren"¹⁶ and in a recent (1980) article Sieglinde Fischer observes "Laukhards Schilderungen hat u. a. auch Goethe für die Ausarbeitung der 'Kampagne in Frankreich' genutzt,"¹⁷ an assertion which she does not document, but one which is confirmed in a work devoted to the Entstehungsgeschichte of Goethe's account of the Austro-Prussian campaign in France.¹⁸

Although it is true that Laukhard is an important documentary source for this period of history, it is too much to claim, on the basis of his journalistic style and emphasis on external

events, that the man himself completely disappears from view ("verschwindet hinter den Ereignissen").¹⁹ For Laukhard does not function solely as a chronicler, who records for posterity the history he has witnessed. He also has didactic intentions. The passage which announces this must be quoted in full to be properly understood.

Ich war ein junger Mensch von guten Fähigkeiten und von gutem Herzen. Falschheit war nie mein Laster; und Verstellung habe ich erst späterhin gelernt und geübt, nachdem ich vieles schon getan und getrieben hatte, dessen ich mich schämen mußte. Mein Vater hatte mir guten Unterricht verschafft, und ich erlangte verschiedene recht gute Kenntnisse,...Meine Figur war auch nicht häßlich. Da war es doch schade, daß ich verdorben und unglücklich ward. Aber ich wurde es und fiel aus einem dummen Streich in den anderen, trieb Dinge, worunter auch wirklich gröbere Vergehungen sind, bis ich endlich aus Not und Verzweiflung an allem Erdenglück die blaue Uniform anzog.

Wenn nun ein Erzieher, ein Vater oder auch ein Jüngling meine Begebenheiten liest, muß er da nicht manche Regel für sich oder für seinen Zögling abstrahieren? Meine Unglücksfälle sind nicht aus der Luft gegriffen, wie man sie in Romanen liest: sie haben sich in der wirklichen Welt zugetragen, haben alle ihre wirklichen Ursachen gehabt und lehren, daß es jedem ebenso gehen kann, der es so treibt--wie ich.

Ich glaube daher mit Recht, daß mein Buch einen nicht unebenen Beitrag zur praktischen Pädagogik darbietet, und daß niemand ohne realen Nutzen dasselbe durchlesen wird: und das ist doch nach meiner Meinung sehr viel. Auf diese Art werde ich, der ich durch meine Handlungen mein ganzes Glück verdorben habe, doch durch Erzählung derselben gemeinnützig, und das sei denn eine Art Entschädigung für mich. (vol. I, pp. 3-4)

When Laukhard notes "daß es jedem ebenso gehen kann, der es so treibt--wie ich," and speaks of himself as one who "durch meine Handlungen mein ganzes Glück verdorben habe," it becomes apparent that to realize these didactic intentions Laukhard would have to present an individual (himself at an earlier time) making choices. For the memoir-component of the Leben und Schicksale, which concerns itself with such issues as whether or not the Brunswick Manifesto of 1792 was politically wise, will instruct primarily the historian or the general reader interested in history. To instruct "ein Erzieher, ein Vater, oder auch ein Jüngling" Laukhard would have to tell the story not only of historical events in which he took part, but also that of an individual gone wrong, and how others might avoid such mistakes in the future. And the story of an individual is present in Magister Laukhards Leben und Schicksale, although in a form insufficient for the realization of the author's didactic intentions, as we shall see.

However, it is clear that Laukhard intends to provide more than a bare-bones chronicle of student and soldier life. In the following passage, for instance, he does not just report the fact that he and other soldiers plundered, but reflects on the ethical aspects of this action as well.

Unsere Leute hatten auf den Dörfern die Schafhürden und Schweineställe geöffnet, und so sah man auf den Feldern viele Schafe und Schweine

herumlaufen. Diese wurden, wie leicht zu denken steht, haufenweise aufgefangen und nach dem Lager geschleppt. Ich muß gestehen, daß ich mich auch unter den Haufen der Räuber mischte und ein Schaf nach meinem Zelte brachte; ich dachte: wenn du's nicht nimmst, so nimmt's ein anderer, oder es verläuft sich, und dieser Grund bestimmte mich, an der allgemeinen Plünderung teilzunehmen. Der rechte Eigentümer, dachte ich ferner, gewinnt doch nichts, wenn ich auch sein Eigentum nicht berühre, ja, ich werde dann noch obendrein für einen Pinsel gehalten, der seinen Vorteil nicht zu benutzen wisse. Kurz, alle Imputabilität des Plünderns gehört, wie mich dünkt, für die Aufseher über die Disziplin und den Lebensunterhalt; diese haben zunächst alles zu verantworten. (vol. II, pp. 30-31)

This passage is quite typical of Laukhard in two ways. Firstly, there is an appeal to common sense. Any reasonable person, Laukhard claims, would have acted as he did ("ich werde dann noch obendrein für einen Pinsel gehalten, der seinen Vorteil nicht zu benutzen wisse"). Secondly, this is done in a way which absolves Laukhard of any moral responsibility for his actions ("Kurz, alle Imputabilität des Plünderns gehört...für die Aufseher über die Disziplin und den Lebensunterhalt"). He may be right in this particular case, but the tendency to explain his action as the outcome of circumstances rather than as the result of a personal choice grounded in ethical considerations is important in Laukhard's self-presentation.

Indeed, while discussing one of the most important decisions in the book, namely, whether to allow himself to be used as a go-

between in a plot to induce his friend Dentzel to surrender the fortress town of Landau peacefully, Laukhard raises unprincipledness itself to a principle, and argues that ~~when~~ viewed dispassionately, man has generally subordinated moral considerations to those of self-interest. He first comments that his own principles condemn the enterprise: "Spionerei habe ich überhaupt immer für etwas Unanständiges gehalten, und Verrätereie für das abscheulichste Verbrechen" (vol. II, p. 130). But he goes on to say:

Was das letzte, oder die Überzeugung von Recht und Unrecht betrifft, so wäre das die geringste Frage gewesen. Denn ich hatte Beispiele genug zu meiner Rechtfertigung. Der Eigennutz ist das große Triebrad der menschlichen Handlungen; davon zeugt die Geschichte aller Zeiten und Völker, und alle wahren Biographen sind davon der klarste Beweis. Ein Herr Philosoph kennt und rühmt die Wahrheit und ist überzeugt, daß diese, verbunden mit einer ihrer würdigen Lebensart, die höchste Würde des Menschen ausmacht; er lehrt dies in allen seinen Büchern-- und seine Handlungen sind gewöhnlich das Gegenteil von seiner Lehre. Auch der größte Philosoph kalkuliert meistens à la Pitt, und ist Kaufmann auf Geld, Ehre und Gewissen, wie dieser. --Mit den Herren Moralisten konnte ich also bald fertig werden. (vol. II, p. 130)

What effect does such cynical (or realistic, depending on one's point of view) commentary have upon Laukhard's presentation of the self? In answering this question it may be wise to bear in mind an observation by Klaus-Detlef Müller. Müller refers to Laukhard's "geradezu manischen Schreibzwang,"²⁰ and, specula-

ting on its origins, comments, "Man geht wohl nicht fehl, wenn man dieses extreme Mitteilungsbedürfnis, dem jedes Erlebnis zum Schreibenlaß wird, als extravertierte Form der Selbstobjektivierung versteht, die im Publikum jenen Dialogpartner sucht, den er in der Wirklichkeit durch die Entfernung aus seiner sozialen und seiner Bildungsschicht verloren hatte."²¹

This observation, which seems quite justifiable, points towards a certain confusion of purpose in Laukhard's autobiography. Ostensibly, as we have seen, he is writing "für die akademische Jugend" (vol. I, p. 315) or its guardians, and intends to furnish a warning: "Da wird nun vielleicht mancher, der das [this life story] liest, vorsichtiger in der Welt handeln, damit er nicht auch anrennen, wie ich angerennet bin" (vol. I, p. 95). On the other hand, as Müller's words indicate ("jenen Dialogpartner sucht, den er in der Wirklichkeit...verloren hatte"), Laukhard also engages the reader on another level. This one might designate as a "one-reasonable-man-to-another" dialogue, as opposed to the delinquent-to-pupil relationship implicit in the pedagogical intent. Ostensibly Laukhard wants to show the error of his ways, but behind the back (so to speak) of the avowed intention, he also attempts to convince the reader that he is a reasonable man. This can be demonstrated most clearly by contrasting the passages dealing with the self, in which Laukhard reproaches himself for Leichtsinn, with those passages dealing with world affairs and matters of opinion, which are designed to demonstrate the reason-

ableness of his views. Because of Laukhard's tendency to excuse questionable behavior on the grounds of expediency or external influence, which diminishes the impact of the main characteristic of Leichtsinn (rashness or thoughtlessness), one sees that Laukhard covertly attempts to present himself primarily as a Vernunftmensch, an Enlightenment man of reason, rather than a person who is primarily irresponsible and foolish.

When presenting himself directly (that is, through straightforward self-description rather than through the quality of his opinions), Laukhard, like Brandes, makes Leichtsinn his most prominent characteristic. Speaking of his first love, Laukhard writes "Wer einmal wirklich verliebt ist, würde gewiß alles tun, was ich tat, wenn er auch viel weniger Leichtsinns besitzen sollte, als Mutter Natur mir mitgeteilt hat" (vol. I, p. 36). Later he observes, regarding the same topic, "aber mein Herz hing fest an ihr, so fest nämlich als es für das Herz eines äußerst leichtsinnigen und unerfahrenen jungen Menschen möglich ist" (vol. I, p. 45). Writing of his involvement in student harassment of local peasants, he notes "Mein Leichtsinns, mein studentischer Heroismus verleiteten mich noch dreimal dazu" (vol. I, p. 60). At one point his father chastens him: "Dein Leichtsinns...dein Leichtsinns hat dich verführt" (vol. I, p. 182). Directly after becoming a soldier, Laukhard observes: "Mein natürlicher Leichtsinns kam mir hier zustatten: ich legte alles auf die leichte Achsel" (vol. I, p. 243). At the end of the first volume Leichtsinn and misplaced

youthful enthusiasm are offered as explanations for his departure from the straight and narrow: "Ich lernte immer selbst nachdenken und fand, daß das Unglück, ich meine das moralische Unglück, die Verstimmung der moralischen Saiten,...bloß in meinem Leichtsinn und in meinem schwärmenden Wesen zu suchen war" (vol. I, p. 312).

Related to Laukhard's Leichtsinn is his immaturity and lack of personal resolve. In his introduction, Petersen describes Laukhard as a person of talent, "aber von außerordentlicher Willensschwäche, der, wie er selbst gefühlt hat, ein Kind war und von dem ersten besten, der ihm über den Weg lief, sich leiten ließ" (vol. I, p. xviii). Petersen's remark is presumably based on words Laukhard puts in Dentzel's mouth, which undoubtedly reflect the author's self-image: "Laukhard, Laukhard, du bist, wie ich merke, noch immer der alte Unbesonnene, der gutmütig und schwach genug ist, sich ohne weiteres Nachdenken, wie ein unmündiges Kind, zu allem beschwatzen und verleiten zu lassen" (vol. II, p. 161). Regarding the same topic (the Prussian scheme to persuade Dentzel to surrender Landau) Laukhard himself had made a similar judgement. After taking stock of the mission's difficulties, he regrets that he was "dumm oder unbesonnen genug, einen Streich ausführen zu wollen, für andere, der mir nicht gelingen, wenigstens nur äußerst schwer gelingen konnte, und Vorteile für mich aufzugeben, die ich weit leichter und gewisser hätte bewirken können. Pfui über mich und meine kurzsichtige Gutmütigkeit" (vol. II, p. 155). Even more similar to Dentzel's

words is Laukhard's explanation of how he became a soldier for the emigrés (earlier referred to by him as "schändliches Ungeziefer" and "diese elenden Hofinsekten" [vol. II, pp. 10-11]): "Das Ding [a modest financial arrangement] gefiel mir, und da man mit mir wie mit einem Kinde leicht machen kann, was man will,...so schlug ich ein und ward--Soldat bei den Emigranten!" (vol. II, p. 321).

As well as attributing questionable behavior to his thoughtlessness and immaturity (which he seems powerless to combat), Laukhard also has a way of presenting others as at least partly responsible for weaknesses in his personality. Like the apparently irresistible bad traits, this influence of people or circumstance helps minimize the role of personal decision-making and responsibility. Consider his explanation of the influence of his tipling maiden aunt. While conceding that it was all right if she herself wanted to drink, Laukhard maintains "daß sie aber auch mich, einen Knaben von sechs Jahren, zum Weintrinken anfeuerte, das war im höchsten Grade unrecht. Ich würde sagen, daß es schändlich war, weil sie dadurch den Grund zu vielen meiner folgenden Unfälle gelegt hat; aber...an nachteilige Folgen dachte sie nicht" (vol. I, p. 14). And, although admitting that his father was a good-natured and tolerant man, Laukhard observes that in some ways his father's liberal, anti-clerical views had a negative influence.

Er nahm mich des Abends, auch spät in der Nacht, mit auf den Kirchhof und erzählte mir bei seiner Pfeife Tabak allerhand Anekdoten, wie der und jener durch Betrug der Pfaffen--mein Vater kleidete seine skandalösen Histörchen allemal so ein, daß ein Pfaffe dabei verwickelt war, daher mein unbezwinglicher Haß gegen alles, was Pfaffe heißt--mit Gespenstern wäre geneckt worden. Sofort vertröstete er mich auf die Zukunft, wo ich würde einsehen lernen, daß alles, was man so hinschwatzte und was er zum Teil selbst hinschwätzen mußte, erdichtet und erlogen wäre; daß die Leute, die von abgeschiedenen Seelen, von Gespenstern, Geistern, Erscheinungen usw. viel Wesens machten, nicht wüßten, was sie trieben. Auf diese Art legte damals mein Vater den Grund zu der Irreligion, welche in der Folge meinen Kirchenglauben vernichtet hat. (Vol. I, pp. 30-31).

Laukhard really has no right to hold his father responsible for his own later vocal and aggressive hostility towards narrow-minded orthodoxy, for at least his father at another time warns him to keep his thoughts private ("nichts davon ins Publikum zu bringen" [vol. I, p. 144]). But while Laukhard does not lay all the blame at his father's feet, the passage quoted may at least be said to assign the father's role a certain prominence.

On at least one occasion Laukhard becomes aware of his tendency to lay blame upon others, and sees that it can be unfair. His decision to become a soldier is precipitated by his father's refusal to rescue him from creditors--a refusal Laukhard believed was due to his brother's bearing home bad tales. Laukhard admits his action is motivated by childish revenge, and at the

same time asks the reader to bear in mind the extenuating circumstances: "Wenn du Soldat wirst, dachte ich, so bist du auf einmal von den hallischen Manichäern los, dann bist du auch an deinem Bruder und Vater gerächt--an deinem Vater?--deinem guten, biedereren Vater?--O, man vergebe mir diesen tollen Gedanken und denke an meine Lage!" (Vol. I, p. 236). A little later he adds, "In Halle bist du gekränkt, in Halle muß du gerächt werden. So kindisch rachsüchtig dachte ich damals in der Verwirrung" (vol. I, p. 237).

Even here, while admitting error, Laukhard still attempts some self-justification ("denke doch an meine Lage!"). More often, as we have seen, Laukhard adopts a more assertive stance in the way he observes that circumstances dictate what the individual will do: "wenn du's nicht nimmst, so nimmt's ein anderer" (vol. II, p. 30), he says of the sheep. Or we may recall the general statement: "Der Eigennutz ist das große Triebrad der menschlichen Handlungen; davon zeugt die Geschichte aller Zeiten und Völker" (vol. II, p. 30). For the most part, Laukhard appears unwilling to provide the reader with a clear-cut example of a wrong choice which might serve as a warning to the reader of something to avoid. Rather, he is more inclined to point out how people (like his aunt or father) or circumstances (like his indebtedness in Halle) significantly influence his character or a particular decision. Laukhard presents himself as largely at the mercy of external forces. As he laconically remarks, after observing how

becoming a member of a military force, with its promise of rough and perhaps riotous living, has led him away from his resolve to lead a more orderly life: "So wollte es aber das Schicksal" (vol. II, p. 5). By presenting his behavior more in terms of external influences, extenuating circumstances, and "fate," rather than as a matter of free moral choice, Laukhard diminishes the pedagogical impact of his autobiography. Rather than saying to the reader, 'Look at the mistakes I made and avoid them,' Laukhard says only, 'Look how poorly things turned out for me,' leaving the reader slightly puzzled as to why, unless he specifically seeks out the special pleading about influence and circumstance which forms an unobtrusive but significant part of Laukhard's narrative technique. Also, as we have seen, Laukhard sometimes implies that a course of action which convention deems immoral (plundering) is actually one that any "reasonable" person would take: "ich werde...für einen Pinsel gehalten, den seinen Vorteil nicht zu benutzen wisse" (vol. II, p. 31). Despite the superficial endorsement of his failing of Leichtsinn, Laukhard endeavors to show himself as compromised by circumstance, or as making a choice which is actually sensible.

When discussing public affairs, too, Laukhard is at pains to establish himself as a man of good sense who accepts the values of the Enlightenment. Like Bahrdt, Laukhard is an enemy of superstition and dislikes this aspect of the Palatinate: "Es gibt zwar allerorten Spuren von dieser Seuche, aber nirgends auffallender

als in der Pfalz" (vol. I, p. 29). Although he mentions his father's "Schwachheiten," the only example of a weakness he chooses to describe is his father's inexplicable (in a progressive clergyman) fondness for alchemy (vol. I, pp. 10-11). Later he mentions that some residents of the Palatinate believed that, during the invasion of the French revolutionary army, the local ghost became visible in broad daylight ("sogar am hellen Tage sichtbar gewesen sein") (vol. II, pp. 100-101), and he laments: "So finster ist es noch in der Pfalz, selbst unter Protestanten" (vol. II, p. 101). The most amusing and instructive of his sallies against superstition is his narration of an encounter between two soldiers, in which one convinces the other that the King of Prussia dares to lead personally his troops into battle because mere lead cannot kill a king: "wenn die Franzosen unseren Alten treffen wollen, so müssen sie silberne Kartätschen einladen" (vol. II, p. 54). As Laukhard rightly concludes, "Durch solche absurden, abergläubigen Ideen entkräftet ein solcher Märchentrödler ein Beispiel von Tapferkeit, welches der König seinem Heere gibt, und das für sich ganz unwiderstehlich wirken würde" (vol. II, p. 55). In another passage he employs a typical piece of Enlightenment imagery to express his belief in the eventual triumph of reason: "Wenn die Sonne der Vernunft höher hinaufsteigt, sinken die Nebel einer verpafften Phantasie, und die Produkte von dieser verschwinden, sobald der Glaube an sie lächerlich wird. Nur Geduld, die Zeit gibt alles!" (vol. II, p. 43).

Laukhard uses dialogue form not only to inveigh against superstition, but also to establish 'reasonable' opinion on a subject. An example occurs in the second volume, pp. 32-33, in which a shortsighted captain argues with a more circumspect major. The captain argues that plundering and cruelty will frighten "das Patriotengrob" into submission. The major, on the other hand, argues that the army's marauding will only encourage a spirit of hatred and defiance in the French, and that the lawlessness is contrary to the Brunswick Manifesto, which announced that Prussians came as friends to restore inner order in France under the monarch. It is not hard to guess on which side of the issue Laukhard stands (despite his own plundering!), and to which he is trying to win over the reader. An even more obvious example of the same tactic is a conversation between a non-commissioned officer and the King of Prussia himself. If Laukhard is to be believed, when the non-commissioned officer curses the French republicans as "Spitzbuben," the king replies, alluding to the fact that influential French expatriates encouraged Prussia and Austria against France, "Ei was, Patrioten! Die Emigranten, das sind die Spitzbuben, die mich und Euch ins Elend stürzten" (vol. II, p. 67). Similarly (though this time without the device of dialogue), Laukhard brings to the reader's attention (vol. II, p. 122) the fact that needless cruelties of Austrian troops in France (such as offering a bounty on French heads) help account for later "Barbareien" by the French revolutionary armies when they moved east of the Rhine. In fact, while attributing the worst atrocities to

the Austrians, Laukhard also criticizes German actions as well, and concludes his remarks with an appeal typical of the Enlightenment: "Ich hasse zwar die französischen Räuber und ihre Barbareien in der Pfalz so sehr als nur einer, denn ich bin ja selbst ein Pfälzer; aber die Invasion und die Räubereien der Deutschen in Lothringen und in Champagne kann ich auch nicht loben. Man muß jedem sein Recht widerfahren lassen, dem Deutschen und dem Franzosen, damit wir selbst billiger und toleranter werden und uns so gegenseitig desto eher wieder aussöhnen" (vol. II, pp. 35-36).

Many other passages also show Laukhard endeavoring to present himself as a man of reason. For one thing, he insists on telling the facts, even unpleasant ones, for the truth encourages awareness and perhaps even change. Defending the inclusion of the horrors of dysentery in his narrative, Laukhard remarks, "Delicate Leser würde es aufbringen und ihren Ekel rege machen, wenn ich über diesen Gegenstand alles sagen wollte. Aber für delicate Leser ist dieser Teil meiner Schrift nicht, sondern für Männer, deren Absicht es ist, das Elend unserer Feldzüge gegen die Neufranken in seiner wahren Gestalt kennen zu lernen; und diese suchen nur Wahrheit, auch ekelhafte Wahrheit, wenn sie nur Resultate daraus ziehen können" (vol. II, p. 50). His positive judgement of the Revolution is based on empirical evidence and an appreciation of the practical improvements it has brought. He has, he writes, "mich mit Lothringern mehrmals unterhalten und

mit Vergnügen vernommen, daß sie durch die Revolution von jeder Seite durchaus gewonnen hätten. Die schrecklichen Abgaben, sagten sie, wären nicht mehr; jetzt könnten sie auch an sich denken, bauen, anderen aushelfen, ihres Lebens wie ihrer Arbeit froh werden, einen Notpfennig ersparen. Die vielen Akzisen hätten aufgehört, das grobe Wild verwüstete ihre Fruchtfelder nicht weiter, kurz, sie fühlten jetzt, daß sie Menschen wären und nicht mehr Sklaven des Edelmanns und der Priester usw. usw." (vol. II, pp. 37-38). Laukhard adds to this the common-sense (but sometimes overlooked) observation that one cannot properly judge a revolution by those it has alienated.

Man muß, dünkt mich, bei einer Revolution nicht die vornehmen Kasten der Städter, noch weniger die Kaufleute, Juden, Wucherer, besoldeten Gelehrten und Dienstleute, am allerwenigsten diejenigen fragen, welche bloß vom alten System, von den Vorurteilen, dem Aberglauben und von dem Luxus der Nation sich zu nähren vorher gewohnt waren. Diese Leute sind alle nicht in der Lage, einen richtigen Begriff von der Staatsänderung anzugeben, denn sie haben dabei verloren, und ihr Verlust hindert sie, den Gewinn des Ganzen gehörig zu würdigen. Man frage den Landmann, den Handwerker, der nützliche Sachen macht, kurz, die erwerbende Klasse, nicht die verzehrende, nicht den Höfling, den Priester, den Friseur oder das Modemädchen, und man wird von der Revolution richtiger urteilen lernen. (vol. II, p. 38)

Laukhard also uses a simple, straightforward argument to question the special ignominy attached to espionage. If one can approve of devious methods for other practitioners of the act of

war, why are spies condemned for employing them? "Ich habe über die Spione und deren Bestrafung so meine ganz eigenen Gedanken, und es kommt mir vor, als wenn das Gesetz, welches sie so geradewegs zum Strang verdammt, sehr ungerecht sei. Denn wenn man einen General, der sich aller Kriegsliste bedient, deswegen nicht für unehrlich und noch weniger für strangfähig erklärt, weil er durch List dem Feinde zu schaden trachtet--warum soll man einen armen Teufel aufknüpfen, der sich zur heimlichen Entdeckung der Absichten des Feindes bereden oder gebrauchen läßt?" (vol. II, p. 25).

The clearest example of Laukhard presenting himself as a spokesman of reasonable, educated, well-considered commentary on public affairs is his discussion of the execution of Louis XVI. With his historical knowledge, Laukhard means to impress the reader as well as the tavern companions with whom he originally shared his opinions: "Ich sprach, daß ihrer nur drei wären, die durch das Gesetz seien hingerichtet worden: Agis von Lakedämon, Karl I. von Großbritannien und Ludwig XVI. von Frankreich" (vol. II, p. 94). He contrasts the execution of Charles I, who was put to death only by "die Anhänger Cromwells und seiner Partei" (vol. II, p. 95), with that of Louis, whose case, Laukhard believes, came under the jurisdiction of a more properly constituted body: "Der Nationalkonvent vertrat wirklich die ganze Nation, und hatte folglich das Recht, Gesetze zu machen, ohne jemanden, selbst den König nicht ausgenommen, um Rat zu fragen. Dieses Gesetz, daß das

Volk, durch die Nationalversammlung repräsentiert, eine Änderung in der Regierungsform machen könnte, hatte selbst der König angenommen und sanktioniert. Von nun an war also die Souveränität des Königs aufgehoben" (vol. II, p. 95). Laukhard is aware of a movement to put the issue of the king's fate to a plebiscite, but he is against it: "behaupten muß ich, daß der Konvent das Forum competentis war, wovon er gerichtet werden mußte, und da dieser die Nation vertrat, so wissen die, welche von einer Apellation an das Volk reden, nicht recht, was sie wollen" (vol. II, p. 96). The judgement of a people over a sovereign, Laukhard continues, "scheint sogar zu den despotischen Zeiten der römischen Kaiser kein Problem gewesen zu sein. Der römische Senat erklärte den Claudius Nero für einen Feind des Vaterlandes und bestimmte ihn zum Tode" (vol. II, pp. 96-97). After furnishing a few more historical examples, Laukhard concludes: "Kurz, die Geschichte wie der gesunde Menschenverstand lehrt, daß bei jeder wohl und rechtmäßig eingerichteten Menschenregierung der Regent seinen Untertanen verantwortlich bleiben muß" (vol. II, p. 97). Laukhard does not refrain from informing the reader that his views find acceptance. Of a group of officers he writes: "Sie schienen mit meiner Behauptung und Auseinandersetzung zufrieden, nur warnten sie mich, behutsam damit zu sein; denn von preußischer Seite, meinten sie, müsse man sich wenigstens noch immer stellen, als wenn man schrecklich böse auf die Buben wäre, welche ihren König hingerichtet hätten" (vol. II, p. 97).

From this passage particularly (as well as from the preceding ones), one can infer how Laukhard, the educated man now declassé, really wishes to be seen by his readers, who, as Müller pointed out, serve as substitutes for the dialogue partners he no longer enjoys in real life. Laukhard can still be seen as intent upon instructing the reader, but not in the reprobate-to-potential-delinquent manner suggested by the author in the foreword. Rather, Laukhard gives the reader a history lesson, and at the same time demonstrates how well-versed he is in this subject, especially since, within the narrative context, he delivers his historical discourse on regicide completely extemporaneously. Characteristically, Laukhard contrasts his informed opinion with the superstition-tinged religious sentiment the execution provokes among the masses: "'Nun,' hieß es [among the Prussian soldiers], 'kann es den Franzosen nicht mehr gut gehen; nun muß Gottes Zorn und Rache sie verfolgen; man wird das bald genug sehen'" (vol. II, p. 94). This sort of thinking is what Laukhard's reasoned arguments are meant to counteract. And, in fact, modern historians do not generally consider the death of Louis XVI a gratuitous cruelty, but as a likely though not inevitable consequence of the treasonable flight to Varennes, and, from some revolutionary perspectives at least, a political necessity.²² It is also very likely that plundering by the invading armies provoked resistance rather than intimidation from the citizenry, as Laukhard argues. As for the words against the emigrés put into the mouth of the King of Prussia, it has been established that at

least his military leader, the Duke of Brunswick, felt that the emigrés had led him into misfortune, and possibly the King's views were not dissimilar.²³

In general, Laukhard makes good his claim of being an intelligent and judicious observer of the political events of his time. But this clear-sightedness, as we have seen, does not extend into his personal conduct. As Müller puts it, "Die Souveränität seiner historischen Perspektive hat Laukhard allerdings nicht in die Konsequenz des eigenen Verhaltens übertragen können."²⁴ Rather, Laukhard is too prone to dwell on the role of influence or circumstance when writing of his own misbehavior. In this way he undermines his pedagogical intentions, in that only a much less compromising and less clouded account of his own errors could show young readers or their guardians what sort of actions or decisions to avoid. Due to this emphasis on external influences, to which is related the noticeable lack of admission of error or feelings of remorse in most instances, one can easily agree with the author of the Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie article on Laukhard, who writes: "Es ist stark zu bezweifeln, daß Laukhard's 'Leben und Schicksal' jemals [einen] pädagogischen Dienst erwiesen habe, wie hoch auch der kulturhistorische Werth des Buches anzuschlagen ist."²⁵ Leichtsinn is ostensibly the main characteristic presented to the reader, but it is often excused by the author on account of influence or circumstance, and then also overshadowed by the extensive passages of political

commentary, in which the author makes every effort to convince the reader of his perspicacity and sound judgement. It eventually becomes apparent that Laukhard means to leave the reader with an impression of himself as perhaps given to occasional lapses in his private life but, concerning larger public matters, undoubtedly a man of reason.

Maimon: Lebensgeschichte

The lives of all the autobiographers under consideration in the current study are to some degree unusual. Prosch, the penniless orphan, becomes a wealthy property-owner; Schubart, the libertine, becomes a religious enthusiast; Laukhard, the scholar, becomes a foot-soldier. In this group of unusual individuals, Maimon's life history may be the most exotic of all. A Polish Jew, he was born Salomon Ben Josua near Mirz (or Mir) in Lithuania, most probably in 1752.²⁶ He was raised in a tradition of narrow Jewish orthodoxy ("Wer den Talmud versteht, der versteht alles"²⁷), was by the age of nine well-versed in Talmudic disputation, and at eleven as educated as most rabbis. His precociousness brought him prestige in this society dominated by the priestly caste, and after negotiations with other interested parties, the youth was married at the age of eleven to the daughter of an ambitious innkeeper, for which his father received a considerable sum. Himself a father by the age of fourteen, his domestic situation was rendered impossible by the tyranny of his

wife and mother-in-law, and he left their household to become a private tutor (Hofmeister). Having somehow taught himself German through a process of transliteration (p. 212), and tiring of the narrow mental horizons of Poland and the orthodox Jewish community, Maimon traveled to Germany, originally with the intention of becoming a medical doctor. At first refused entrance to Berlin by the Jewish community because of his liberal opinions, he was forced to spend six months as a common beggar before a rabbi in Posen recognized him as a scholar and found him a position as a tutor with a well-to-do family, a job Maimon kept for two years. A second visit to Berlin (in 1773) was more successful, and through the favor of Moses Mendelssohn he was able to enter polite society and meet potential patrons. Well-to-do friends supported him for three years while Maimon learned the trade of an apothecary, but when he refused to make use of it, expressing his dislike "für alle Geschäfte" and his inclination "zum ruhigen spekulativen Leben" (p. 273), these practical men were understandably piqued and Maimon found it desirable to leave Berlin for a while. After sojourns of varying lengths in Hanover, Amsterdam and Hamburg (where he attended a Gymnasium for two years), all of which served to point out his inability to get along with various patrons (men whom he criticized for their singleminded eagerness "Geld zu sammeln" [p. 275]) at the expense of other interests, he eventually ended up back in Berlin. A scheme to publish Enlightenment books in Hebrew in order to educate Polish Jews failed, and Maimon again left Berlin for

Breslau, where he took another tutoring position. A subsequent fourth visit to Berlin in 1786 was the period of his greatest successes. Firstly, it was during this time that he worked with Karl Philipp Moritz on the Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde (he was co-editor from 1791 to 1793). Even more importantly, it was during this period that he wrote his commentary on Kant's Kritik der reinen Vernunft. Maimon's work was entitled Versuch über die Transzendentalphilosophie (1790) and Kant remarked that it contained "viele scharfsinnige Bemerkungen."²⁸ Praise from this eminent source aroused curiosity about this new philosopher of unusual background and perception, and it was partially in response to this interest that Maimon composed his autobiography (1792).²⁹ After this last period in Berlin, Maimon retired to the estates of his final patron, Graf Kalckreuth, in whose house in Lower Saxony he died on November 22, 1800.

From the standpoint of posterity Maimon's achievements in philosophy may be of equal or greater importance than his contribution to autobiography, but it was the autobiography which had a wider impact among his contemporaries. Zwi Batscha, the most recent editor of Maimon's Lebensgeschichte, notes that the work was appreciated at the time of publication, but then lapsed into obscurity: "Ihr sofortiger Breitenerfolg erwies sich als nur kurzlebig; bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts blieben Maimons Philosophie und Geschichte fast gänzlich vergessen...."³⁰ Another commentator expresses much the same view in more positive terms:

"While the effect of Maimon's thought on the history of philosophy was limited to his own period, the story of his life had an impact on the cultural world of his time as well as on succeeding generations. His autobiography, which made him famous in wider circles, was edited several times. At the beginning of this century it was re-edited by Jakob Fromer...."³¹ This wider impact of the autobiography has been viewed both positively and negatively. In the opinion of one explicator of Maimon's philosophy, Samuel Bergman, the autobiography distracts the public's attention from more important matters: "Maimon is a curious instance of a philosopher whose unsurpassing philosophical originality was neglected and whose picturesque genius lives on in his Autobiography, one of the most widely read books at the time of its publication and which has not lost its appeal to this day. Through this book Maimon became a kind of literary curiosity and gained more attention as a vagabond than as a philosopher."³² Another commentator concerned primarily with Maimon's philosophy, Samuel Atlas, views the Lebensgeschichte not as a distraction but as a source of inspiration: "His autobiography attracted the greatest men of his time. Goethe and Schiller became interested in the author's personality; in their correspondence they speak of him with admiration. Goethe was so fascinated by Maimon's struggle that he invited him to Weimar."³³ Whether positive or negative, the broader appeal of Maimon's autobiography as compared with his philosophical works is probably intentional. Niggel points out similarities between the autobiographical methods of

Karl Friedrich Bahrdt and Maimon, and believes that it is their intention "innere Bildungs- und äußere Lebensgeschichte miteinander zu verbinden."³⁴ This combination, in which an account of the author's education is interspersed with more humorous elements, argues Niggel, demonstrates that the authors are seeking a broader audience without sacrificing certain didactic intentions: "Man kann daran einmal erkennen, daß diese Autoren über den engeren Kollegenkreis hinaus ein breites Publikum für ihr Gelehrtenleben interessieren wollen, zum anderen aber auch, daß sie damit keiner bloßen Unterhaltung dienen, sondern durch die neuartige Mischung von Bildungsgeschichte und schwankhaft-abenteuerlicher Erzählung das beiden gemeinsame didaktische Moment hervortreten lassen wollen."³⁵

Whether among contemporaries or in later generations Maimon's autobiography has given rise to amazingly varied responses. Perhaps the most idiosyncratic judgement is that of Maimon's first English translator, J. Clark Murray, who writes, despite the unrelieved squalor of Maimon's early life (and much of the rest of it): "If the development of the inner life of man can be characterised as a romance, the biography of Maimon may, in the truest sense, be said to be one of the most romantic stories ever written."³⁶ A later English writer, Bernard Cherrick, assures us more realistically that "the life of Maimon was far from being a romance."³⁷ Friedrich Kuntze, the first major German explicator of Maimon's philosophy, paints the picture in darker tones.

According to Kuntze, Maimon's life is "eine Gelehrtentragödie... in Gestalt einer unüberwindlichen Neigung zum Schnapsee..."³⁸ On the whole though, his life story has more often been judged as inspirational rather than disheartening: even Kuntze refers to Maimon's "sonst heroisch überwunden[e] Vergangenheit" when drawing attention to his fondness for alcohol.³⁹ Murray, expressing his own opinion, writes, "Perhaps no literature has preserved a more interesting record of a spirit imprisoned within almost insuperable barriers to culture, yet acquiring the strength to burst all these, and even to become an appreciable power in directing the course of speculation."⁴⁰ Atlas, referring to Maimon's effect upon his contemporaries, writes: "Maimon's life was regarded as an illustration of the struggle of the human will, of the freedom and sovereignty of mind, and of the capacity of the human spirit to overcome all obstacles to the attainment of intellectual pre-eminence."⁴¹ And he concludes somewhat panegyrically: "Indeed, Maimon's life considered from the standpoint of the sum total of energy spent in the service of truth resembles the life of the great thinkers of all time."⁴²

But whether one views Maimon's Lebensgeschichte as the sad story of a person who by the end of his life had developed the habit of "durch betäubende Getränke das Bewußtseyn seines Schicksals zu verlieren,"⁴³ or as an inspiring one, "one of the finest examples of the freedom and independence of the human spirit,"⁴⁴ this autobiography is problematic. The most obvious problem is

that of form: there is an excess of extraneous material, at least from the standpoint of modern expectations of autobiography. The longest digression is a ten-chapter excursus on the works of the author's namesake, the Jewish scholar Moses Ben Maimon (also known as Maimonides, 1135-1204). But other items as well, such as the "Kurze Darstellung der jüdischen Religion," "Etwas über Religionsgeheimnisse," and the allegorical final chapter, "Der lustige Ball," are either omitted entirely or consigned to appendices by editors reissuing the Lebensgeschichte after the author's death. Only a photomechanical reprint of the edition of 1792 reproduces the work in its original form.⁴⁵

Nevertheless, it is clear that the Lebensgeschichte was intended to have as its unifying centre of interest the growth of the author's intellect, and this has been acknowledged from the outset by readers of the book. In his foreword to the first edition, Karl Philipp Moritz characterizes the subject matter of the book as depicting "wie die Denkkraft, auch unter den drückendsten Umständen, sich in einem menschlichen Geiste entwickeln kann".⁴⁶ Wuthenow writes of Maimon, "die Lebensgeschichte dieses Mannes ist der Weg seines Denkens...."⁴⁷ Maimon himself emphasizes the development of his intellect as well, justifying his chapters on Maimonides by pointing out that this important thinker "hatte durch seine Schriften, sowohl auf die Ausbildung meiner geringen Fähigkeiten, als meines Charakters den größten Einfluß" (p. 240). And at least as far as one critic is concerned, this emphasis on

intellectual growth provides the ideal focal point for Maimon's autobiography.

The writing of the autobiography of a man of thought is, in a sense, one of the most difficult of the literary arts. To execute it with some degree of excellence the author must not only be discriminating, but he must also possess a good memory, literary skill, and--what is most important--the ability to find a point from which his whole life can be seen in perspective and to recognize the central ideal that dominated it. In the case of Solomon Maimon, the pursuit of truth and knowledge was a passion, and this drive is the central point from which the aspects of his life⁴⁸ can be viewed in their proper relationships.

Despite Atlas's enthusiastic endorsement, it can also be argued that Maimon's Lebensgeschichte suffers from a certain confusion of purpose. A clue to this confusion is found in the quotation from Maimon cited above, in which he observes that Maimonides influenced both the development of his intellectual capacities ("Ausbildung meiner geringen Fähigkeiten") and his character. The question naturally arises: does Maimon intend to write a conventional Gelehrtenautobiographie, which with its emphasis on intellectual development must concentrate on schools attended and books read, or does he intend to write a more personal account, emphasizing the development of his character as opposed to his thought? The answer of course is that Maimon provides both, which is why Niggel in reference to Maimon (and Bahrdt) speaks of "die neuartige Mischung von Bildungsgeschichte und schwankhaft-aben-

teuerlicher Erzählung."⁴⁹ For, as we shall see presently, in Maimon's Lebensgeschichte the delineation of education alternates with episodes from everyday life, which are generally intended to illustrate aspects of character development. So both these elements are present in the Lebensgeschichte, but obviously the impersonal sections dealing with background educational influences seemed too extensive to later editors, who in accordance with modern tastes in autobiography wanted to concentrate on Maimon's personal history and development. Hence, the background materials are consigned to appendices. As the fruit of Maimon's Talmudic training and his own autodidactic efforts, his philosophical system, has been explicated more than once by commentators far more qualified to do so than the present writer, the following analysis will concentrate more on how Maimon presents the formation of his Charakter than on how he traces his Bildung, bearing in mind, however, that for a man who lived primarily to think the two are by no means entirely separate.

As we have just seen, Niggel has pointed out that Maimon's Lebensgeschichte incorporates a mixture of autobiographical traditions. However, Maimon's primary avowed intention appears to be to provide the reader with an autobiography more personal and intimate than the conventional Gelehrtenautobiographie. This is understandable, for by the time Maimon wrote his autobiography he was co-editor of the Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde, and despite his philosophical bent, to some extent influenced by Moritz's

self-scrutiny and concern for the seemingly trivial occurrences which often turn out to be significant. One notices, for example, obvious similarities between Moritz's introduction to the first part of Anton Reiser and Maimon's introduction to the second part of his Lebensgeschichte. Moritz seeks to anticipate the charge of dwelling on the trivial: "Wer den Lauf der menschlichen Dinge kennt und weiß, wie dasjenige oft im Fortgange des Lebens sehr wichtig werden kann, was anfänglich klein und unbedeutend schien, der wird sich an die anscheinende Geringfügigkeit mancher Umstände, die hier erzählt werden, nicht stoßen."⁵⁰ Maimon mentions the importance of seemingly trivial matters, while at the same time speaking out directly against the older, more public, res gestae tradition of autobiography.

Es ist nicht bloß eine Autorgrinasse, wenn ich dir sage, wie sehr ich abgeneigt war, diese Lebensgeschichte zu schreiben, nicht eben deswegen weil ich glaubte, daß es nur großen Männern von Titel und Range zukommt, von den Staatsaffären, worin sie in ihrem Leben verwickelt waren, von den Hofkabaln, mit denen sie beständig zu kämpfen hatten, kurz von ihren politischen oder militärischen Expeditionen zu Wasser und zu Lande der Welt Rechenschaft zu geben; weil es manche Rücksichten geben kann, worin geringfügig scheinende Vorfälle des menschlichen Lebens weit interessanter und lehrreicher sein können als die vorerwähnten glänzenden Taten, die sich überall ziemlich gleich bleiben, so daß man, vorausgesetzt, daß die Lage der Person, die sie betreffen, bekannt ist, diese Vorfälle schon a priori ahnen und mit ziemlicher Genauigkeit vorhersagen kann. (pp. 235-236)

Maimon goes on to say that his doubts about writing his autobiography have not to do with the type of life led but with his ability to describe that life adequately: "Die wahre Ursache also, die mich davon abhielt, ist keine andere als das Bewußtsein meines Unvermögens, die Vorfälle meines Lebens, die an sich in psychologischer, pädagogischer und moralischer Rücksicht interessant und lehrreich genug sein möchten, so darzustellen, als es diesen Zwecken gemäß ist" (p. 236).

Unfortunately, Maimon's doubts are to a certain extent well-founded. A pastor whom he consults about a possible conversion to Christianity tells him, "Sie sind zu sehr Philosoph, um ein Christ werden zu können" (p. 289), and one is tempted to remark that Maimon is perhaps also too much of a philosopher to be an entirely successful autobiographer. Knowing he is a philosopher, one can understand his desire "nichts auch an sich Geringfügiges, welches aber in Ansehung meiner Bildung von Folgen war, wegzulassen" (p. 240). Nevertheless, an excursion a full ten chapters long on Rabbi Moses ben Maimon, which deals primarily with Maimonides' philosophy itself, rather than emphasizing its effect upon the autobiographer, is enough to try the patience of many readers. Maimon himself must have sensed this, for after giving his reasons for the inclusion of this material he comments: "Wer in diesem Buche bloße Begebenheiten suche, oder es als einen Roman lesen will, wird einige Bogen zu überschlagen belieben, die aber dem Denker gewiß nicht unwichtig sein werden" (p. 367).

This remark illustrates quite well the conflicting reader expectations and the differing strands of autobiographical tradition underlying them. Maimon, despite the psychological orientation indicated by the Moritz-echoing phrase "geringfügig scheinende Vorfälle," seems unsure whether he is primarily writing a traditional Gelehrtenautobiographie addressed to the scholar ("dem Denker"), or a work of more general interest, addressed to readers who seek events and will read it like a novel. He is writing both, of course, but it is precisely this which makes Maimon's Lebensgeschichte a somewhat disappointing work. Firstly, the anecdotal material of general human interest becomes obscured by the bulk of material more suited to the scholar (which is why it has been relegated to appendices by modern editors). Secondly, even while narrating personal childhood experiences, Maimon, as we shall see, either does not explore their psychological implications adequately, or makes them serve the rather scholarly purpose of illustrating some aspect of Verstand, or reasoning power. The less personal sections of the book (the most extensive of which are the introduction to Maimonides and the history of Judaism) attempt to reconcile reason and religion. This emphasis on reason in both the private and public spheres provides the work, at least theoretically, with a unifying focus, but at the same time makes his self-presentation somewhat one-dimensional.

Furthermore, although Verstand is of central importance in Maimon's presentation of the self, he is self-contradictory in

his account of its origin and development. In his foreword to the second part of the Lebensgeschichte, Maimon refers to a "plötzliche Veränderung" in his development (p. 240), and a little later expresses a wish not to omit mention of patrons and intellectual influences, "die unmittelbar oder mittelbar zu meiner geistlichen Wiedergeburt auf irgendeine Weise beigetragen haben" (p. 241). And it is true that as a benighted Polish Jew, blinkered by an early education which was entirely Talmudic, he should have been impervious and non-receptive to learning outside this tradition, like the Talmudist who, upon learning from Maimon that the earth is round, objected that the people on the other side would then fall off (p. 165). And indeed, Maimon presents his conversion to secular Western thinking as a sudden illumination. Referring to his first major encounter with modern works on science, he writes: "Nachdem ich diese durchstudiert hatte, wurden mir auf einmal die Augen aufgetan. Ich glaubte nun den Schlüssel zu allen Geheimnissen der Natur erlangt zu haben, da ich wußte, wie ein Gewitter, Tau, Regen, usw. entstehe" (p. 165).

But the question arises: how did the young rabbi, steeped in Talmudic learning, come to be interested in such profane knowledge? Unlike Bahrdt, who presents himself as a vociferous champion of Protestant orthodoxy who gradually comes to doubt and eventually deserts to the Enlightenment camp, Maimon's mental horizons are at no time depicted as being entirely within the limits prescribed by rabbinical tradition. "Mein Vater hatte in seiner

Studierstube einen Schrank mit Büchern stehen", writes Maimon; "er verbot mir zwar, alle anderen Bücher außer dem Talmud zu lesen. Aber es half nichts. Da mein Vater die meiste Zeit mit häuslichen Angelegenheiten beschäftigt war, so machte ich mir diese Zeit zunutze" (p. 92). The book that appealed to him the most was on astronomy. Of it Maimon writes:

Hier eröffnete sich mir eine neue Welt. Ich machte mich also mit dem größten Fleiße darüber. Man denke sich ein Kind von ungefähr sieben Jahren, das noch nie von den ersten Elementen der Mathematik etwas gesehen oder gehört hat, dem ein astronomisches Buch in den Wurf kommt und seine Aufmerksamkeit auf sich zieht, worüber ihm aber niemand Anweisung geben kann (meinem Vater durfte ich meine Begierde danach nicht wissen lassen, und ohnedem war dieser selbst nicht imstande, mir hierüber Auskunft zu geben): wie muß dieses seinen nach Wissenschaften schmachtenden Geist nicht entflammt haben! (p. 94)

The reader is left with the impression that an inexplicable urge towards secular, non-religious knowledge is present in Maimon from his earliest years. His thirst for scientific knowledge seems to exist a priori. It could not have come from his Jewish heritage and education, for these, according to Maimon's account, have been corrupted by the negative influence of the faculty diametrically opposed to Verstand, namely, Einbildungskraft (imagination).

The following anecdote serves as a springboard into Maimon's

dichotomy of Verstand and Einbildungskraft.

In meinem sechsten Jahre fing mein Vater mit mir an, die Bibel zu lesen. Im Anfange schuf Gott Himmel und Erde. Hier unterbrach ich meinen Vater und fragte: "Aber Papa, wer hat Gott erschaffen?"

V: Gott ist von niemand erschaffen, er war von aller Ewigkeit da.

I: War er auch vor zehn Jahren da?

V: O ja, er war auch vor hundert Jahren da.

I: Also ist Gott vielleicht schon tausend Jahre alt?

V: Behüte! Gott war ewig.

I: Aber er hat doch einmal geboren werden müssen!

V: Närrchen, nein! Er war ewig und ewig und ewig.

Ich war zwar mit dieser Antwort nicht befriedigt, aber ich dachte doch, Papa müsse es besser wissen als ich, und ich müsse es also dabei bewenden lassen.

Perhaps surprisingly for the modern reader, Maimon does not contrast the healthy 'common sense' attitude of the child with the dogmatic certainty of the adult. Rather, Maimon's commentary on this incident presents the child's view as limited, and the adult's as demonstrating greater powers of reason.

Diese Vorstellungsart ist der ersten Jugend, bei der der Verstand noch unentwickelt, die Einbildungskraft hingegen in ihrer vollen Blüte ist, sehr natürlich.

Der Verstand sucht bloß zu fassen, die Einbildungskraft aber zu umfassen, d.h., der Verstand sucht sich bloß die Entstehungsart eines Objektes begreiflich zu machen, ohne darauf zu sehen, ob auch das Objekt, dessen Entstehungsart bekannt ist, von uns wirklich dargestellt werden kann oder nicht. Die Ein-

bildungskraft hingegen sucht dasjenige, dessen Entstehungsart uns bekannt ist, in ein Bild als ein Ganzes zu umfassen. Für den Verstand ist z.B. eine unendliche Reihe Zahlen, die nach einem bestimmten Gesetze fortschreitet, ebensogut ein Objekt (dem durch dieses Gesetz bestimmte Eigenschaften zukommen) also eine endliche Reihe, die nach ebendiesem Gesetze fortschreitet. Für die Einbildungskraft hingegen ist zwar diese, nicht aber jene ein Objekt, weil sie diesselbe nicht als ein vollendetes Ganze umfassen kann. (pp. 87-88)

The struggle between the imaginative faculties and the reasoning powers is revealed most clearly in Maimon's excursions on Judaism and Maimonides. In the following passages, the power to reason is represented by the word Vernunft, rather than Verstand, for Maimon generally observes Kant's distinction that Vernunft indicates the faculty of perceiving the relationships in non-sensuous material, and Verstand means the faculty of clear and logical thinking on sensuous material. But at least in the Lebensgeschichte Maimon seems to intend no fundamental difference between the two, because at times he uses them interchangeably.⁵¹ In the eyes of both Maimon and Maimonides reason and religion are basically compatible. Indeed, true religion and reason are practically identical. Maimon explains the views of his namesake: "Die göttliche Vorsehung ist nach der Meinung des Maimonides nichts anders als die Leitung der Vernunft und findet nur dann statt, wenn diese in wirkliche Übung gesetzt wird" (p. 465). Again referring to Maimonides, Maimon comments: "Besonders merkwürdig, daß er sowohl in diesem als in dem vorerwähnten Werke

hauptsächlich auf Berichtigung der Erkenntnis und Verbesserung der Sitten Rücksicht nimmt und keine Gelegenheit verabsäumt, die durch Mißverständnisse aufgehobne Harmonie zwischen Religion und Vernunft [original emphasis] wiederherzustellen, sollte dieses auch durch eine Abschweifung von seinem Hauptgegenstande geschehn müssen" (p. 370). In fact, according to Maimon (though not to Maimonides), to restore Judaism's original moral code, a code based on reason, was the intent of Christ.

Von dieser Art war der Stifter der christlichen Religion, der sich gleich anfangs der Tyrannei dieser Aristokratie mit gutem Erfolge widersetzte und das ganze Zeremonialgesetz auf seinen Ursprung, nämlich auf ein reines Moralsystem (zu dem sich dieses Zeremonialsystem als Mittel zum Zwecke verhielt) zurückführte, wodurch zum wenigsten die Reformation eines Teils der Nation bewerkstelligt wurde....

Ein auf die Vernunft gegründetes Moralsystem wäre, nach den tief eingewurzelten Vorurteilen der Nation zu damaliger Zeit, unvernünftig gewesen, eine heilsame Reformation zu bewerkstelligen. (p. 190)

How did the Jewish religion go astray? Not surprisingly, the Einbildungskraft--Verstand/Vernunft dichotomy plays a central role in Maimon's explication of the problem. First, Maimon defines religion as an "Ausdruck der Empfindungen der Dankbarkeit, Ehrfurcht usw., die aus dem Verhältnis einer oder mehrerer uns unbekannten Mächte zu unserm Wohl und Weh entspringen" (p. 331). He continues:

Dieser Ausdruck kann von zweierlei Art sein, entweder der Einbildung oder der Vernunft gemäß. Denn entweder stellt man sich die Ursachen den Wirkungen analogisch vor und legt ihnen an sich solche Eigenschaften bei, die sich durch ihre Wirkung offenbaren, oder man denkt sie bloß als Ursachen gewisser Wirkungen, ohne dadurch ihre Eigenschaften an sich bestimmen zu wollen. Diese beiden Arten sind dem Menschen natürlich; jene ist dem frühern Stande des Menschen, diese dem Stande seiner Vollkommenheit gemäß. (p. 332)

Maimon goes on to outline the development of the rabbinical tradition. First there is Mosaic law, followed by the Misna, which is a commentary on and exegesis of Mosaic law, and then comes the Talmud, which is a commentary on and interpretation of the Misna. Maimon laments the increasing complexity and decreasing accessibility of Jewish law for the Jewish people.

Seit der Beschließung des Talmuds sind die Rabbiner auch nicht müßig, sie dürfen zwar an der Misna und dem Talmud nichts ändern, ihr Geschäft besteht aber darin: diese so zu erklären, daß sie mit sich selbst übereinstimmen müssen...aus dem Labyrinth von verschiedenen Meinungen, Auslegungen, Streitigkeiten und Ehescheidungen, die auf jeden Fall anwendbaren Gesetze herauszuwickeln; und endlich neue, durch alle bisherigen Bemühungen unbestimmt gebliebene Gesetze für neue Fälle durch Schlüsse aus den schon bekannten herauszubringen und ein vollständiges Gesetzbuch zu verfertigen.

So wird die, ihrem Ursprung nach natürliche, der Vernunft angemessene Religion gemäßbraucht. Ein Jude darf weder essen noch trinken, weder bei seiner Frau schlafen, noch seine Notdurft verrichten, ohne dabei eine ungeheure Anzahl Gesetze zu beobachten. (pp. 340-341)

In the section on the Jewish religion from which this passage is taken, Maimon charges only that the fault lies "in einer künstlichen Methode [original emphasis] der Auslegung der heiligen Schrift (p. 342), and complains that the rabbis force their students "nach einem Schatten zu haschen und Schlösser in die Luft zu bauen" (p. 342). But in a chapter dealing with the cabala, he specifically identifies the source of this tendency towards complexity and obscurity.

Ursprünglich war die Kabbala vermutlich nichts anderes als Psychologie, Physik, Moral, Politik und dergleichen, durch Symbole und Hieroglyphen in Fabeln und Allegorien vorgestellt, ...Nach und nach ging, vielleicht durch manche Revolutionen, dieser geheime Sinn verloren, die Zeichen wurden statt der bezeichneten Sache selbst genommen. Da man aber leicht merkte, daß diese Zeichen doch etwas bedeuten müßten, so überließ man es der Einbildungskraft, diesen geheimen Sinn, der längst verloren gegangen war, aufs neue zu erdichten. (p. 152)

Several passages dealing with what Maimon considers to be the errors of Hasidism also make it apparent that Einbildungskraft, which impairs reason's capacity to see things clearly, is a major negative influence on the mind.

...anstatt daß sie [the Hasidic Jews] mit den Stoikern das Prinzip ihrer Handlungen in der reinen Vernunft suchen sollten, suchen sie es vielmehr in der Religion, einer zwar reinen Quelle, daraus sie aber in der Tat, da sie von der Religion selbst falsche Begriffe haben, und ihre Tugend bloß die zukünftigen Belohnun-

gen und Bestrafungen eines nach bloßer Willkür regierenden, eigenmächtigen, tyrannischen Wesens zum Grunde hat, nicht anders als aus einer unreinen Quelle fließen, nämlich aus dem Prinzip des Interesses, und da dieses Interesse selbst bloß auf Einbildungen beruht, so sind sie hierein noch weit unter den größten Epikuräern, die zwar ein niedriges, aber doch ein reelles Interesse zum Zwecke ihrer Handlungen haben. (pp. 186-187)

Another passage is very similar, but stresses that false premises will lead to false virtue: "Diese [the Hasidic Jews] befeleißigen sich zwar der Ausübung der Tugend, da aber ihr Motiv zur Tugend nicht die in der Vernunft gegründete Erkenntnis Gottes und seiner Vollkommenheit ist, sondern vielmehr in falschen Vorstellungen von Gott und seinen Eigenschaften besteht, so konnte es nicht anders sein, als daß sie auch die wahre Tugend verfehlten und auf eine eingebildete Art von Tugend gerieten..." (p. 194). And of the Sohar, another interpretation of the Mosaic law, Maimon writes: "Hier ist ein weites Feld für die Einbildungskraft, wo sie nach Belieben herumschwärmen kann, ohne doch am Ende über die Sache besser belehrt zu sein als vorher" (p. 191).

Finally, it should be pointed out that as our original example (pp. 113-114) also illustrated, the reason versus imagination dichotomy, while most apparent in Maimon's account of religious principles, is also invoked regarding matters of personal perception as well. Of Marcus Herz, the man who brought Maimon's Versuch über die Transzendentalphilosophie to Kant's attention,

Maimon writes:

Anfangs betrachtete mich dieser Freund als ein redendes Tier und ergötzte sich mit mir, wie man sich mit einem Hund oder mit einem Star, der einige Worte auszusprechen gelernt hat, zu ergötzen pflegt. Seine Einbildungskraft wurde mehr durch die seltsame Mischung des Tierischen in meinen Mienen, Ausdrücken und dem ganzen äußeren Betragen, mit dem Vernünftigen in den Gedanken, als sein Verstand durch den Inhalt solcher Unterredungen in Tätigkeit gesetzt. (p. 250)

This polarized and abstract account of mental processes does not lend itself to what we today understand by psychological observation, with its emphasis on details and nuances which reveal the personality. This is especially true because of Maimon's distrust of Einbildungskraft, which causes him to dismiss peremptorily any thought or actions which he feels have been engendered by it, rather than to distinguish among or examine its various effects. For instance, when he says of some fanciful interpretation of the Misna, "Meine Einbildung wurde durch diese Beschreibungen aufs höchste gespannt" (p. 201), we can be sure that he means to indicate he is being deceived, as indeed turns out to be the case. Against this rationalist background, the few events labelled "psychologisch" or "eine psychologische Begebenheit" by Maimon strike the reader as an intrusion of extraneous material, as though Maimon had suddenly remembered his promise in the foreword to pay attention to "geringfügig scheinende Vorfälle". In fact, Maimon uses "psychologisch" in a way that indicates his associa-

tion of psychology with abnormal psychology, just as the Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde deals primarily with accounts of unusual behavior. By "psychologisch" Maimon does not necessarily mean pathological, but at least 'odd', or 'curious', since it usually appears with an accompanying "merkwürdig." There are only three incidents specifically labelled "psychologisch" in the entire Lebensgeschichte, and only two involve Maimon. After describing a particularly distasteful religious ritual, and how a sense of shame forces him to lie that he has already performed this obeisance at another synagogue, Maimon exclaims:

Eine sehr merkwürdige psychologische Erscheinung! Man sollte denken, daß es unmöglich sei, daß sich jemand solcher Handlungen schämen sollte, die er alle andern ohne die mindeste Schamröte ausüben sieht, und doch war es hier der Fall; welches Phänomen sich nur dadurch erklären läßt, daß ich bei allen meinen Handlungen erst auf die Natur der Handlung an sich (ob sie an sich recht oder unrecht, schicklich oder unschicklich sei), und dann auf ihre Natur, in Beziehung auf irgendeinen Zweck, Rücksicht nahm, und sie nur dann als Mittel billigte, wenn sie an sich nicht zu mißbilligen war; welches Prinzip sich nachher in meinem ganzen Religions- und Moralsystem völlig entwickelt hat; dahingegen die meisten Menschen zum Prinzip haben: der Zweck entschuldigt die Mittel. (pp. 172-173)

The point could hardly be made more obvious: reason rules Maimon's actions, religious fervor that of the others. The "merkwürdige psychologische Erscheinung" of Maimon's embarrassment is given a very rational explanation.

A further "in Ansehung der Psychologie und der Moral merkwürdige Begebenheit" (p. 280) is Maimon's suicide attempt in Amsterdam, the narration of which is humorous in tone. The question "to be or not to be" takes the form of a dialogue between the soul and body: "Schon bog ich meinen Körper über den Kanal, um mich hineinzustürzen; aber nur der obere Teil des Körpers folgte dem Befehl der Seele, indem er sich auf den untern Teil verließ, daß dieser gewiß seine Dienste nicht leisten würde; so stand ich eine geraume Zeit mit dem halben Leibe über das Wasser gebogen; stemmte mich aber bedächtlich mit den Beinen fest an die Erde, so daß man geglaubt haben würde, ich machte dem Wasser mein Kompliment. Dieses Zaudern vernichtete meinen ganzen Plan....Ich fing endlich über mich selbst zu lachen an...." (p. 281). Eventually, Maimon reaches the conclusion "daß mein ganzer Bewegungsgrund zum Selbstmord nichts anders als wahrer gegenwärtiger Überfluß und eingebildeter zukünftiger Mangel sei" (p. 281). Once again it would appear that the imagination has had a hand in a poor decision, though in this case Maimon wisely attributes his reconsideration neither to Vernunft nor Verstand, but only to "der Trieb, das Leben zu erhalten" (p. 281).

A third "merkwürdige psychologische Begebenheit" (p. 183) involves not Maimon but a fellow rabbi. This rabbi is a sleepwalker, and one night in his sleep he takes some items of religious ceremonial significance and carries them to a graveyard. Upon learning what he has done, he interprets it as a bad omen

and thinks of his aging mother. He rides home to visit her and all is well, but a few days thereafter she perishes in a fire. This incident serves primarily to demonstrate that for Maimon "psychologisch" is not far removed from the bizarre and fantastic.

In these incidents labelled "psychologisch" are a few examples of what we would today call psychological insight. The two anecdotes involving Maimon show him merely not being led astray by passing fancies (religious enthusiasm and melancholia, respectively), and the third is more or less straightforwardly a tale of the weird. Maimon also fails to make good use of several anecdotes which, properly handled, might have borne testimony of their psychological impact. One of these concerns a visit of the Princess Radziwill to the village of Maimon's youth. This visit follows a discussion between father and son of the relative merits of happiness and prosperity in this life and the hereafter, in which Maimon's father stresses the importance of the latter. So on this occasion, the father reacts to the boy's astonishment at the beautiful and expensively-dressed princess by whispering to him: "'Närrchen! In jener Welt wird die Duksel bei uns die Pezsure heizen, d.h. im zukünftigen Leben wird die Fürstin bei uns den Ofen heizen'" (p. 90). This astounds the child even more, as Maimon says: "Man kann sich gar nicht die Art von Empfindung vorstellen, die diese Erklärung bei mir hervorbrachte. Von der einen Seite glaubte ich meinem Vater und war über diese zukünf-

tige Glückseligkeit sehr froh; doch hatte ich zugleich Mitleiden mit der armen Fürstin, die zu einem solchen schimpflichen Dienst verdammt werden sollte" (p. 90). Despite this strong immediate impression, attested to by the fact that the adult Maimon remembers it clearly many years afterwards, he makes no effort to ascribe to this event any influence on his subsequent development, i.e., by perhaps remarking that from that time on he began to question traditional views of the afterlife, or look upon wealth in this world as less permanent a blessing, etc. Rather, Maimon records the experience as only a fleeting impression which soon passes: "Ich geriet darüber in die größte Verlegenheit, bis mir ein Spiel diese Gedanken aus dem Kopf brachte" (p. 91).

We may perhaps compare this anecdote with a similar incident from Anton Reiser, though the young Reiser comes to ponder the possible absence of the afterlife, rather than its nature. Originally half in love with easeful death, the thought of which at first inspired "eine Art von wollüstiger Empfindung,"⁵² Reiser comes to hear of a man who dies from a fall resulting in a fractured skull: "...und bei dieser Kopferschmetterung dachte er sich auf einmal ein gänzlich Aufhören von Denken und Empfinden und eine Art von Vernichtung und Ermangelung seiner selbst, die ihn mit Grauen und Entsetzen erfüllte, sooft er wieder lebhaft daran dachte."⁵³ Moritz goes on to connect this incident explicitly with Anton Reiser's developing psyche: "Seit der Zeit hatte er auch eine starke Furcht vor dem Tode, die ihm manche traurige

Stunde machte."⁵⁴

We may also compare Maimon's "Diebstahl à la Rousseau" (p. 116) with Rousseau's original thievery. Maimon, who steals a little ornamental box, closes his narration with finality, and no mention of further consequences: "Ich mußte das schätzbare Kunstwerk...wieder ausgraben, seinem Eigentümer, dem kleinen Moses, zurückgeben und mich von den Kindern des Hauses Dieb nennen hören" (p. 119). Rousseau, on the other hand, resorts to considerable pathos in an attempt to convince the reader that his theft of a ribbon (and subsequent blaming of this deed upon an innocent servant girl) will haunt him to the end of his days: "Alas! if remorse for having made her unhappy is insupportable, what must I have suffered at the thought of rendering her even worse than myself. The cruel remembrance of this transaction, sometimes so troubles and disorders me, that, in my disturbed slumbers, I imagine I see this poor girl enter and reproach me with my crime, as though I had committed it but yesterday."⁵⁵

Again, the point is that Rousseau, like Moritz, relates the event narrated to the subsequent psychological development of the protagonist, whereas Maimon does not. The raw material for an account of psychological development is there, but Maimon does not exploit it.

Maimon is, however, at pains to show himself a man of reason, sometimes to an obsessive degree. One example of this is his

refined, perhaps sophistic, argument against the necessity of prayer. He seeks to persuade a friend of its superfluity: "'Das Beten ist bloß der Ausdruck von der Erkenntnis der göttlichen Vollkommenheiten, und als Resultat dieser Erkenntnis bloß für den gemeinen Mann, der zu dieser Erkenntnis von selbst nicht gelangen kann, bestimmt, und daher auch nur seiner Fassungsart angemessen. Da wir aber den Zweck des Betens einsehen und zu demselben unmittelbar gelangen können, so können wir das Beten als etwas Überflüssiges gänzlich entbehren'" (p. 178). And as a man whose rationality demands a strict observance of principle, Maimon does not shrink from portraying his willful disregard for social niceties. On the contrary, he seems to revel in the fact that he persisted in making his point, although it meant shattering the pretense of amiable relations. Maimon describes his last dinner in the company of some devout Jews.

Am Ende der Mahlzeit gab man mir den Weinbecher, um, wie gewöhnlich, den Segen darüber zu sprechen. Ich lehnte diese Ehre ab und erklärte zugleich, daß dieses nicht aus einer falschen Schamhaftigkeit vor vielen Menschen zu sprechen geschehe, indem ich in Polen Rabbiner gewesen und sehr oft in großen Versammlungen Disputationen und Predigten gehalten, ...Bloß die Liebe zur Wahrheit und die Abscheu vor einem Widerspruch mit mir selbst mache es mir unmöglich, das Gebet, das ich als Folge eines anthropomorphischen Systems der Theologie ansähe, ohne merklichen Widerwillen zu verrichten.

Hier ging ihnen die Geduld völlig aus, sie schalten mich einen verdammten Ketzler und versicherten, daß es Todsünde sei, mich in einem jüdischen Hause zu dulden. (p. 279)

But despite this inflexibility in human affairs, one should not assume that Maimon is entirely blind to the excesses of 'reason.' Perhaps the best and most humorous example is his account of his initial over-enthusiasm for the mechanical principles of Cartesian physiology.

Nun mußte uns gerade eine Ziege im Wege liegen. Ich gab der Ziege einige Schläge mit meinem Stocke; meine Freunde warfen mir meine Grausamkeit vor. Ich aber erwiderte: "Was, Grausamkeit? Glaubt ihr denn, daß die Ziege einen Schmerz fühlt, wenn ich sie schlage? Ihr irrt euch hierin sehr. Die Ziege ist (nach dem Sturm, der ein Kartesianer war) eine bloße Maschine."

Diese lachten herzlich darüber und sagten: "Aber hörst du nicht, daß die Ziege schreit, wenn du sie schlägst?" worauf ich antwortete: "Ja, freilich schreit sie; wenn ihr aber auf eine Trommel schlagt, so schreit sie auch."

Diese erstaunten über meine Antwort, und in kurzer Zeit wurde in der ganzen Stadt bekannt, daß ich närrisch geworden wäre, indem ich behauptete: eine Ziege sei eine Trommel. (p. 166)

But anecdotes like this remain the exception. (There is only one other [p. 167], in which the aspiring medical student Maimon informs patients that they must feel certain symptoms, because these are listed in his handbook.) By and large Maimon is proud to present himself as a pilgrim in search of knowledge, who always travels "mit dem Lichte der Vernunft" (p. 290). And he is sufficiently unsure of any recognition of his accomplishments that he must remind the reader of them, and thus reassure him-

self. Maimon's attempt to explicate a work of Mendelssohn in German results in bewilderment or contempt due to his poor command of that language, but when he switches to a more familiar tongue he impresses the company: "Die Studenten, die das Hebräische wohl verstanden, gerieten in ein nicht geringes Erstaunen, da sie sahen, daß ich nicht nur den Sinn dieses berühmten Verfassers wohl gefaßt hatte, sondern auch denselben in hebräischer Sprache glücklich ausdrückte..." (p. 213). Of another group of people he writes: "...je näher sie mich aber kennen lernten, in desto größerer Achtung wurde ich von ihnen gehalten" (p. 229). During a period of study at a Gymnasium, Maimon offers a demonstration of his mathematical acumen, much to the satisfaction of the headmaster: "Der Rektor verwunderte sich hierüber sehr, ließ alle Gymnasiasten zu sich kommen und stellte ihnen meine außerordentlichen Progressen zu ihrer Beschämung vor" (p. 296). Maimon also informs the reader that more illustrious persons are likewise impressed by his talents. Of one of his commentaries on Maimonides he writes: "Ich schickte diese Schrift an Mendelssohn, der nicht wenig erstaunte, daß ein polnischer Jude, der kaum die Wolffsche Metaphysik zu sehen bekommen hatte, daß er in ihre Tiefen schon so weit eindringen konnte..." (p. 248). The ultimate accolade of course is the letter from Kant, which states that few possess the sagacity for dealing with such difficult matters as Maimon ("daß nur wenige zu dergleichen tiefen Untersuchungen so viel Scharfsinn besitzen möchten, als Herr Maimon" [p. 314]).

In closing we may say that Maimon relies heavily upon his intellectual abilities both for his self-esteem, as well for the image that he presents to his readers. This somewhat one-sided emphasis, together with his rejection of the imaginative faculties as a source of anything but error, make it difficult for him to capture any aspect of his individuality beyond his self-perception as a Vernunftmensch. Within this limited sphere, Maimon provides the reader with a passable account of the workings of his intellect and the major influences upon it, but as we have seen, he does not provide a clear account of the development of this reasoning power.

Seume: Mein Leben, Spaziergang nach Syrakus, Mein Sommer 1805

When discussing the autobiographical writings of Johann Gottfried Seume, we are faced with the problem of which works to consider, for Mein Leben itself is but a fragment which comes to less than one hundred pages in most editions, and extends only as far as the author's twentieth year. Luckily, there exists some agreement as to which of Seume's writings can be considered autobiographical. The two commentators who deal with Seume as an autobiographer (most critics approach him as a political writer) agree that two of his better known travelogues can also be viewed as autobiography. Wuthenow writes, "Der Spaziergang nach Syrakus im Jahre 1802 und Mein Sommer [1805] gehören den autobiographischen Schriften so zu wie Goethes Italienische Reise und die Campagne

in Frankreich in den weiteren Zusammenhang seiner grossen Selbstdarstellung gehören."⁵⁶ Müller is of the same opinion: "Als solche [autobiographische Schriften] haben...neben dem Fragment Mein Leben auch die beiden grossen Reisebeschreibungen Spaziergang nach Syrakus im Jahre 1802 und Mein Sommer 1805 zu gelten."⁵⁷ In the following analysis of Seume's self-presentation, all three of these works will be taken into consideration. The Apokryphen, which were written directly before Mein Leben, and which often pithily reiterate ideas expressed in Spaziergang and Mein Sommer and anticipate sentiments expressed in Mein Leben, will occasionally be referred to as well.

As we shall see, many of Seume's sentiments and opinions are of a political nature. But his autobiographical writings are saved from being just another political memoir of the Napoleonic era by the presence of an elusive but unmistakable personal element. In memoir the primary focus is on the external event, and the narrator himself tends to vanish from immediate view. Seume, while passionately interested in the central political events of his time, discusses them in a way which also clearly establishes his identity as an observer. The following passage, for example, introduces a discussion of Napoleon: "Ich bin keines Menschen Feind, sondern nur der Freund der Wahrheit, Freiheit und Gerechtigkeit. Neid und Herabsetzungssucht sind meiner Seele fremd; ich nehme immer nur die Sache. Ich bin dem Manne von seiner ersten Erscheinung an mit Aufmerksamkeit gefolgt, und

habe seinen Muth, seinen Scharfblick, seine militärische und politische Größe nie verkannt." (I, p. 8) This passage tells the reader as much about Seume's view of himself as it does about his opinion of Napoleon. Modern critics and Seume's contemporaries have both noticed how the personality of the man emerges strongly in his writings. Wuthenow compares Laukhard with Seume and finds the self-presentation of the latter more clearly delineated: "Laukhard, der viel zu berichten hat, verschwindet hinter den Ereignissen, obschon er immer wieder auf sich als Zeugen hinweist, Seume,...tritt immer deutlicher hervor. Von Laukhard wissen wir, was er erlebt hat, aber wir kennen ihn eher durch ein paar Ansichten von ihm als durch ihn selbst, bei Seume aber sind Erlebnis, Ansicht und Person eins und untrennbar."⁵⁸ And Lothar Pikulik, basing his observation on letters of Seume's contemporaries, comments: "Wer seine Reiseberichte damals las, wurde offenbar nicht so sehr durch den Gehalt des Berichteten wie durch die Individualität des Berichterstatters gefesselt."⁵⁹ Thus, although Seume's autobiographical writings are noticeably lacking in intimate personal detail, --he tells us nothing about his unhappy relationships with women, for example, and little enough about his friendship with von Münchhausen,-- his manner of discussing public figures and events is intended to reveal his own identity as well, and his writings can justifiably be considered as autobiography rather than memoir.

Before beginning our analysis of Seume's self-presentation, a few

words should be said about his life and his other literary productions. Seume was born the son of a farmer in Saxony in 1763. After conflicts with local petty noblemen, Seume's father sold his farm and became a tenant farmer in a different locality. He died when Seume was thirteen, and the boy received an education thanks to the charity of a nobleman, who had noticed the youngster's quickness with Greek and Latin. Like so many other poor but promising students in eighteenth-century Germany, Seume was guided towards the study of theology, and with this pursuit in mind was sent by his benefactor to the university at Leipzig. This occasioned the first moral crisis of his life, for after he had read Shaftesbury, Bayle, and other Enlightenment authors Seume's faith was shaken, and he came to believe he could not in good conscience become a clergyman. Even at the early age of seventeen Seume reacted in a taciturn and resolute manner which was to become characteristic; he sought advice from no one and resolved to flee to Paris and seek entrance into an artillery school. A military career was forced upon him in a different manner, however, for he was kidnapped by Hessian recruiters and sold to the English as a mercenary. He was garrisoned in Halifax, Nova Scotia, for most of 1783, but neither he nor any of his regiment became involved in actual combat. An account of his experiences in the new world was published in Johann Wilhelm von Archenholtz's journal Neue Litteratur und Völkerkunde in 1789, and represents his first attempt as an author. Life was more dangerous for Seume in the old world than in the new, for upon

his return to Germany he fell into the hands of Prussian recruiters. After nearly four years in Prussian captivity and a narrowly avoided running of the gauntlet which probably would have resulted in his death, Seume returned to Leipzig to study philosophy, history, and law. After graduation he became the private tutor (Hofmeister) of the son of a Russian general, von Igelström, and due to his knowledge of languages and other proven abilities ended up serving as private secretary to the general himself. After the third partition of Poland (1795), as a reward for work well-done, Seume was appointed to accompany a wounded Russian officer who intended to travel to Italy to speed his recovery. Though unsuccessful, this trip was the reason Seume was too far from Russia when Tsar Paul I, taking up the reins of government after his mother's sudden death in 1796, ordered all military personnel on leave to return to the homeland by a given date. Seume did not even receive the order until after the deadline had passed, but non-compliance nevertheless meant an automatic dishonorable discharge and no pension. During this period of his life he wrote a favorable account of Catherine the Great, Über das Leben und den Charakter der Kaiserin von Rußland Katharine II (1797), and also a short work critical (understandably enough) of her successor, Zwei Briefe über die neuesten Veränderungen in Rußland seit der Thronbesteigung Pauls des Ersten (1797).

After the termination of his Russian service, Seume gave private

foreign language instruction, from which he was able to eke only a meagre living. Eventually, he found a more substantial employment as a proofreader for the Göschen publishing firm, a job he kept until 1801. During this period he wrote a collection of essays entitled Obolen (1798) and also at Göschen's request a Kurzes Pflichten- und Sittenbuch für Landleute, although this work was never published in Seume's lifetime.

In 1801 Seume began the series of travels for which he was to become known, in Goethe's phrase, as "der berühmte Wanderer."⁶⁰ These travels, which took him to Italy and France, and then in 1805 to Russia and the Scandinavian countries, were an important step in his life. As Inge Stephan, the author of the most comprehensive modern work on Seume, points out, "Die Reise nach Syrakus war ein Bruch mit seinem bisherigen Leben, und sie war zugleich ein Ausbruch aus den beengten und bedrückenden Verhältnissen der letzten Jahre."⁶¹ Seume's tour of Italy, which took place directly after the French conquest of the peninsula, included visits to Venice, Naples, Rome and of course Syracuse, the most southerly point of the trip. He returned to Leipzig in August, 1802 by way of France, which allowed him to compare conditions in the homeland of the revolution with those of the territories Napoleon had conquered. Between 1802 and 1805 Seume led a restless, unhappy life in Germany. He suffered from a case of unrequited love involving a woman who married a rival suitor primarily for his money, and it was partially to escape this unplea-

sant situation that he suddenly decided in April, 1805, to take a trip to Russia and Scandinavia. Dismayed by the social conditions he saw in Russia, Seume chose to return to poverty in Germany rather than accept either a commission in the Russian military or a professorship at Dorpat⁶². He returned to Leipzig in the fall of 1805 and lived on meagre earnings as a private tutor. He died in poverty in 1810, at the age of forty-seven. Ironically, it was one month after Seume's death that Wieland, who had been helping Seume fight for the Russian pension unfairly denied him, received the news that it had been reinstated.⁶³ His final work, Mein Leben, which poor health prevented him from finishing, was subsequently completed by C. A. B. Clodius, whose presentation of Seume has been criticized by modern commentators.⁶⁴

The central characteristic of Seume's self-presentation is his emphasis on integrity. Webster's Third International dictionary defines integrity as "an uncompromising adherence to a code of moral, artistic, or other values: utter sincerity, honesty, and candor: avoidance of deception, expediency, artificiality or shallowness of any kind." Seume's behavior fits this definition very well indeed. His code of values is obviously moral and places particular importance on justice, and he is an enemy of deception, expediency and artificiality to an almost excessive degree. He comes close to being "ein wenig betulich" about his virtues, as one critic observes.⁶⁵ This element does not ob-

trude too greatly, however, due to Seume's lack of self-importance regarding practically everything else.--For example, he makes almost nothing of his considerable education.

But he does emphasize his personal integrity, both in Mein Leben and in his autobiographical travel accounts. As we have already observed, Seume stresses the importance of justice both for himself and his father. And he is convinced of his own candor and personal honesty: "Ich erzähle also ehrlich offen, ohne mich zu schonen, und nicht selten mit dem Selbstgefühl inneren Werts, und ohne den Vorwurf der Anmaßlichkeit oder die Krittler weiter zu fürchten, die vielleicht sodann über mich nur Totengericht halten. Torheiten werde ich wohl nicht wenige und nicht geringe zu beichten haben; aber soviel ich mir bewußt bin, keine Schlechtigkeit" (I, pp. 7-8). In the face of injustice done to him, Seume tries to remain philosophical and maintain his dignity. Alluding to the unfairly withheld pension he writes, "...es würde Schwachheit von mir sein, mich darüber zu ärgern" (II, p. 7), and continues in this same vein: "Ich habe mich in meinem Leben nie erniedriget, um etwas zu bitten, das ich nicht verdient hatte; und ich will auch einmal nicht immer bitten, was ich verdiente. Es sind in der Welt viele Mittel, ehrlich zu leben: und wenn keines mehr ist, finden sich doch einige, nicht mehr zu leben. Wer nach reiner Überzeugung seine Pflicht getan hat, darf sich am Ende, wenn ihn die Kräfte verlassen, nicht schämen abzutreten" (II, p. 7). Little wonder that a modern critic has written: "Seume war

vielleicht der letzte Stoiker der deutschen Geistesgeschichte, ein Stoiker, der seine Gesinnungen nicht nur proklamierte, sondern offenbar auch praktizierte."⁶⁶

It is interesting to note that Seume's sense of integrity is responsible for the fact that his autobiography is a fragment, and yet at the same time eventually provides the motivation for writing it at all. Discussing in 1803 the possibility of writing an autobiography due to the requests of "einige Männer, deren Namen die Nation mit Achtung nennt," and who have asked him "etwas öffentlich über meine sukzessive Bildung zu sagen," (II, p. 5), Seume dismisses the idea, indicating that for the time being leading a proper life is more important than writing about it: "Wenn ich vielleicht noch vierzig Jahre gelebt habe und dann nichts mehr zu tun finde, kann es wohl noch eine kleine Ausflucht werden die Winkel meines Gedächtnisses auszustäuben, und meine Geschichte zur Epanorthose der Jüngern hervorzusuchen. Jetzt will ich leben, und gut und ruhig leben, so gut man ohne einen Pfennig Vorrat leben kann" (II, pp. 7-8). But when his health makes further delay impossible, he chooses to tell his version of his life in order to avoid a perhaps distorted treatment by someone else, and because of his conviction that an honest man can give the best account of himself.

Schon Herder, Gleim, Schiller und Weiße und
mehrere noch Lebenden haben mich aufgemuntert,
nach meiner Weise die Umstände meines Lebens,

das sie wohl für wichtiger hielten, als es war, schriftlich niederzulegen. Ich glaubte, das wäre im achtzigsten Jahre noch frühe genug; aber meine jetzigen Gesundheitsumstände erinnern mich, es nicht zu verschieben, wenn es geschehen soll. Mehrere meiner Freunde drohen mir, wahrscheinlich genug, daß ich auf alle Fälle einem Biographen doch nicht entgegen würde; und da fürchte ich denn, einem Sudler oder Hyperkritiker oder gar einem schalen, geschmacklosen Lobpreiser in die Hände zu fallen. Niemand kann doch besser wissen, was an und in ihm ist als der Mann selbst, wenn er nur redliche Unbefangenheit und Kraft genug hat zu zeigen, wie er ist. (I, p. 1)

Let us now turn to some of the examples with which Seume endeavors to illustrate his personal integrity. As we have already noticed, he quickly, in the second paragraph of the autobiography, establishes that both he and his father have always disliked injustice. Such feelings make Seume very stubborn, even as a child, if he thinks an injustice is being done to him. An incident illustrating this occurs during his school years. At one point, Seume, as an excellent pupil, is made responsible for keeping order among the schoolchildren from his village as they walk to and from school. One time he disciplines one of his charges too sternly; a big strapping girl who has disobeyed him several times before is bodily dragged out of a field into which she had intentionally strayed, but unfortunately his lack of gentleness causes her to roll down an embankment and into a gravel pit, giving her some cuts and scrapes. For this he is taken to task by the headmaster, but the boy maintains he had the right to discipline her physically, and regrets only her fall into the gravel pit, which

he had not intended. For this refractoriness he is paddled in front of the class. But he does not give in and manages, if not to win, at least to fight the headmaster to a draw.

Beim Abmarsch nach meinem Sitze verwahrte ich mich noch mit dem Protest, ich habe doch recht getan. 'Hast du?' rief Herr Weyrauch und fing mit neuem Eifer die Exekution von vorn an. Nun schritt ich rasch an meine Tafel, hielt die Hand, wo die Kallipyge die Augen hindreht und stieß trotzig durch die Zähne: 'Ich habe doch recht getan.' Die Nachbarn lachten, und der Schulmonarch fragte despotisch, was da wäre. 'Er habe doch recht getan, meint er,' sagten sie; und die Zitation begann peremptorisch von frischem. Ohne weitere Erörterung fing die Bearbeitung noch exemplarischer zum dritten Male an, und nun erst überlegten beide Parteien, Exekutor und Inkulpat, ernsthaft still, ob sie recht getan hätten. (I, p. 20)

A less light-hearted anecdote from a later period in his life shows that Seume did not hesitate to stand up for the rights of others as well. At a certain point during his time as a soldier, he and his regiment are being cheated by greedy food purveyors, who over- and sometimes double-charge the soldiers. Part of the operation is to bribe the soldiers who come to get the provisions with liquor and extra rations, in exchange for which they are expected to take less of the purveyor's stores than their comrades are really entitled to. Seume compares this small swindle with the affairs of public life: "Indes es ging mit den Deputierten wie im englischen Parlament. Dort besticht man mit Guineen, Stellen und Pensionen; hier bestach man mit Wein, Schnaps

und Kuchen..." (I, p. 54). Seume refuses to participate in this arrangement and returns to his regiment with more than the usual rations. For this he earns the thanks of his fellow soldiers and a major moral victory, as he does not hesitate to point out.

Ich bekam vom Ufer und von den Böcken [rafts used to transport soldiers] eine Menge Dankadressen, mit der Versicherung, daß man noch nicht so gut und so reichlich gespeist habe, und diese Dankadressen hatten wohl wenigstens einen ebenso guten Grund als die im Parla- mente. Man nehme es, wie man will, ich halte diesen Tag für einen der schönsten meines Lebens: und das Bewußtsein macht mich stolz, daß ich als erster Volksdeputierter, trotz jeder Versuchung, Schmeichelei oder Drohung, mit eben der beharrlichen Entschlossenheit würde gehandelt haben. (I, p. 54)

A third example in Mein Leben of Seume's emphasis on his integrity is that, having decided he can no longer study theology and therefore must leave Leipzig, he actually pays his debts before his sudden and unannounced departure. He is not pleased that his behavior seems so exceptional: "Daß ich meine Schulden vorher bezahlt hatte, schien mir ein starkes Argument gegen meinen Verstand zu sein: ein gräßlicher Gedanke über die Immoralität unserer Jugend" (I, p. 49).

Seume's honest and straightforward way of handling situations is also exemplified in Spaziergang nach Syrakus. In a small village where he is spending the night, he, as a foreigner, is a suspicious person to the local ruffians, who want to deal with him in

their usual fashion. "Man schlägt hier zum Anfang die Leute tot und macht sodann nachher--eben weiter keinen Prozeß" (II, p. 123), Seume informs the reader, and there seems little reason to believe he is exaggerating, especially as Italy was at the time occupied by a foreign invader. Nevertheless, he decides to confront his enemies.

Ich zog ganz stille Rock und Stiefeln an, nahm meine ganze Kontenanz und mein ganzes bißchen italienisch zusammen und machte Miene, die Treppe hinab unter sie zu gehen. "Meine Herren," sagte ich so stark und bestimmt, als ich konnte, "ich bin ein fremder Reisender; ich dachte, im Wirtshause, wo ich bezahle, dürfte ich zur Mitternacht Ruhe erwarten. Ich höre, ich bin Ihnen verdächtig; führen Sie mich vor die Behörde, wohin Sie wollen: aber machen Sie die Sache mit Ernst und Ruhe und als ordentliche und brave Leute ab." Es war stiller; die Wirtin und einige von ihnen baten mich, oben zu bleiben, welches ich natürlich sehr gern tat, und nach und nach schlichen sie fast alle fort. Spaßhaft ist es nicht ganz; denn dort geht man selten ohne Flinte und Messer, und jeder ist zur Exekution fertig. (II, p. 124)

This incident shows Seume's personal bravery and integrity in action. A comment from Mein Sommer 1805, which luckily involves only a hypothetical situation, illustrates his strong feeling about personal honor. "Wenn ich ein deutscher Bauer wäre," he writes, "und sechs Söhne und keine andere Aussicht für sie hätte, als sie, auch unter guten Bedingungen, nach Rußland auf das Land zu schicken, bei der Heiligkeit jeder Tugend, ich würde sie alle sechs niederschießen, ehe ich sie hinschickte und der Stammvater

eines Sklavengeschlechts würde" (IV, p. 105). In a passage from the foreword of the same work, Seume makes it clear that he would not hesitate to sacrifice his own life as well for the common good: "Wenn man mich nach meinem Berufe dazu fragt, so ist die Antwort: ich bin ein Mensch, ein freier Mann, glaube vernünftig zu sein und will allen meinen Mitbrüdern ohne Ausschluß gleich wohl. Dessen bin ich mir so innig und fest und wohlthätig bewußt, daß ich dafür mein Haupt ohne Reue auf den Block legen würde, wenn es nötig wäre" (IV, p. 9).

The question of course arises: is Seume really the man of integrity he claims to be? As the definition of integrity mentions "uncompromising adherence" to the values and beliefs held important, consistency must be considered an aspect of integrity. Integrity, however, should not be confused with total intransigence. Indeed, in the course of time a man of integrity may be forced by subsequent developments to change his opinion of an individual or of the significance of events. However, if a man's basic principles appear to fluctuate wildly, for instance, if at times he argues that the individual's needs must be subjugated to those of the state, and at others that the state should serve the individual, then one may justifiably doubt the integrity of such a man, because one necessarily wonders towards which of these diametrically opposed principles he exhibits his "uncompromising adherence." Certainly Seume believes that consistency of personal principle is a component of integrity. In the foreword to Spa-

zierngang nach Syrakus, he again mentions paying his debts before leaving Leipzig, and seeks to explain that action by linking the personal honesty of that episode with the political honesty he wants to express in Spazierngang: "Dem Psychologen wird das Rätsel erklärt sein, wenn ich ihm sage, daß die Gesinnungen, die ich seitdem hier und da und vorzüglich in folgender Erzählung geäußert habe, schon damals alle lebendig in meiner Seele lagen, als ich mit neun Talern und dem Tacitus in der Tasche auf und davon ging" (II, p. 5). As Inge Stephan observes, "Seume war...immer bemüht gewesen, die Einheitlichkeit, Beständigkeit und Unveränderlichkeit seines Denkens und Handelns zu behaupten, und als 'ehrlich, offener, freier Mann' zu erscheinen, der sich sein ganzes Leben nur von 'Wahrheit, Gerechtigkeit und Humanität' hatte leiten lassen."⁶⁷

The matter of Seume's integrity and consistency is usually examined in terms of his political views. And it cannot be denied that political considerations were important to Seume. In the foreword to Mein Sommer 1805 he writes: "Wenn man mir vorwirft, daß dieses Buch zu politisch ist, so ist meine Antwort, daß ich glaube, jedes gute Buch müsse näher oder entfernter politisch sein. Ein Buch, das dieses nicht ist, ist sehr überflüssig oder gar schlecht" (IV, p. 8). He goes on to explain what he means by political: "Politisch ist, was zu dem allgemeinen Wohl etwas beiträgt oder beitragen soll: quod bonum publicum promovet" (IV, p. 8). With such a broad definition Mein Leben can be considered

political as well as containing the autobiographical travel descriptions, in that it narrates the thoughts and actions of a virtuous man, and thus contributes to the enlightenment of the public. As Wuthenow writes, "...genau besehen ist die Schrift Mein Leben gleichfalls ein politisches Buch."⁶⁸

However one must be careful not to equate personal integrity simply with unchanging political opinions. And it should be borne in mind that Seume's presentation of the self, rather than a detailed analysis of his political views, is the primary focus of this study. Nevertheless, political matters cannot be dismissed as entirely irrelevant, for if the principles upon which Seume's political opinions rest are found to conflict with one another, then we may conclude that Seume does not have the integrity he thinks he does, no matter how many times he assures the reader to the contrary.

Seume's political views have been subjected to varying interpretations, and by some commentators he has been transformed into a spokesman for various causes. The most prominent of these has been nationalism. In the nineteenth century it was customary to speak of Seume as "voll flammender Vaterlandsliebe."⁶⁹ This type of interpretation could also serve as grist for the Nazi mill, and in 1938 in a book entitled Johann Gottfried Seume, Wanderer, Soldat, Patriot, an author sympathetic to the Nazi movement tried to make Seume out to be an early herald of the glories

of the Third Reich: "Es ist ein wundervolles Bewußtsein, daß das Deutsche Reich, das damals in Seumes Herzen lebte, heute in machtvoller Wirklichkeit dasteht, und daß es stolz bereit ist, auch das Bildnis dieses sächsischen Mannes in seiner Ruhmeshalle aufzustellen zum Ansporn für kommende Geschlechter."⁷⁰ And even after World War II, a title like Johann Gottfried Seume, Leben und Wirken eines aufrechten Demokraten und großen Patrioten still conscripts Seume into nationalist ranks, although one notes that the terms of praise have changed, as the soldier in Seume is forgotten and replaced by the 'Demokrat'.⁷¹

Such views are clearly no longer adequate. It is perhaps surprising that they ever arose in the first place--except, of course, when one remembers the ideological requirements of their progenitors. Seume was certainly no admirer of the weak and fragmented Germany of his time. And at no point does he ever make any special claims for Germans or a specifically German spirit. Rather, in conventional Enlightenment fashion, he favors the power of reason, which he feels will lead to liberty and justice for all. He expresses his approval in a generalized manner: "Freiheit und Gerechtigkeit sind Schwestern; ihr Vater ist der Geist und ihre Mutter die Vernunft, ihre Kinder sind Fleiß und Mut und Kraft und Glückseligkeit. Die Familie gedeiht nur zusammen und leidet zusammen" (IV, p. 17). He also expresses his willingness to fight for these ideals, if only these were actually being pursued, even under Germany's conqueror, Napoleon, of whom he writes: "Wenn ich

überzeugt wäre, daß unter ihm Vernunft und Freiheit und Gerechtigkeit gediehe, ich wollte der erste sein, das Blut des Herzens unter seinen Fahnen zu vergießen" (IV, p. 15). In light of such statements, it seems justifiable to agree with Lothar Pikulik, who maintains "daß es an Fälschung grenzt, wenn man Seume für die Tradition des deutschen Nationalismus zu reklamieren versucht."⁷² Pikulik also observes that Seume has particularly good reasons for his dislike of the German semifeudal system of carefully gradated social classes and special privileges: "Wer, wie er, die niedrige Herkunft durch die Überzeugung kompensiert hatte, daß nur persönliche Verdienste den Wert des Menschen begründen, mußte doppelt empfindlich sein gegen Vorrechte, die auf Geburt und Stand beruhen."⁷³

Recent criticism of Seume, fortunately, does not attempt to make of him an advocate of nationalism or empire-building. However, it does concern itself with the consistency of his political views. The two most recent monographs, Inge Stephan's Johann Gottfried Seume. Ein politischer Schriftsteller der deutschen Spätaufklärung (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1973) and Gert Kostencki's Johann Gottfried Seume. Absicht, Selbstdarstellung, Gedankenwelt (Frankfurt: Lang, 1979) share this central concern. Stephan's view is that after three failed attempts to integrate himself into the existing social structure--that is, his military, university, and 'Russian' pursuits--Seume reconciles himself to living outside that structure and makes use of his outsider status to criticize

it. This criticism finds its first clear expression in Spaziergang nach Syrakus and continues in the writings that follow. Kostencki takes an extreme position, and, emphasizing the wealth of experience in Seume's early years, argues that Seume embarks on his writing career with his formative experiences behind him: "Seume ist, obwohl erst 27 Jahre alt, durch seine Erfahrungen den Gleichaltrigen weit überlegen und es müssen diese persönlichen Momente berücksichtigt werden, will man schon den ersten Aufsatz ...richtig verstehen, der eine vollkommen ausgereifte Persönlichkeit zeigt."⁷⁴ He argues that the 'Wandel' Stephan sees confirmed in Spaziergang nach Syrakus is one "der sich aber tatsächlich nicht belegen läßt."⁷⁵

Neither of these commentators need be regarded as entirely wrong. But Stephan's position is the one better substantiated by a close look at Seume's literary production. While she perhaps over-emphasizes the changes in Seume's political views, Kostencki seems to construct a 'monolithic' Seume who never changes at all. The 'Wandel' which becomes evident with Spaziergang nach Syrakus is not so much that Seume's convictions and principles change, but that he begins to live by them and to express them publicly. Seume admits this in the foreword to this work. After expressing a number of liberal opinions, he comments:

Man findet es vielleicht sonderbar, daß ein Mann, der zweimal gegen die Freiheit zu Felde zog [that is, as a mercenary in America and in

the service of the Russians in Poland], einen solchen Ton führt. Die Enträtselung wäre nicht schwer. Das Schicksal hat mich gestoßen....In meiner Jugend war es der Kampf eines jungen Menschen mit seinen Umständen und seine Inkonssequenzen; als ich Mann ward, waren meine Verflechtungen zuweilen so sonderbarer Art, daß ich nicht immer ihre Erinnerung mit Vergnügen zurückrufe. Wer sagt gern, ich war ein Tor, um durch sein Beispiel einige längst bekannten Wahrheiten vielleicht etwas eindringlicher zu machen? (II, p. 4-5)

Seume clearly regrets having served the forces of reaction, but understandably pleads extenuating circumstances. Even at the time of his service he became aware, rather in spite of himself it seems, of the discrepancy between his own convictions and the demands of duty. In a letter from Poland of 5 June 1793 to Schiller he wrote: "Ich thue gewiß meine Pflicht als ein braver Mann, ohne mich mit vielen Gedanken zu quälen, und tröste mich mit quod quis per alium, aber den Menschen kann ich doch nicht immer unterdrücken."⁷⁶ But after his dismissal from Russian service this conflict is obviated, and it is no longer necessary for him to suppress thoughts which may conflict with those of superiors. In the foreword to Spaziergang nach Syrakus Seume specifically calls attention to his new-found freedom: "...der letzte Gang nach Sizilien war vielleicht der erste ganz freie Entschluß von einiger Bedeutung" (II, p. 5). And it is his position as an outsider, he realizes, which affords him the privilege of acting on his principles: "Wenn ich Isolierter nicht strenge nach meinen Grundsätzen handeln will, wer soll es wohl sonst?" (II, p. 6).

Before Seume chose to become an outsider he had defended the monarchical form of government, particularly in his essay Über das Leben und den Charakter der Kaiserin von Rußland Katharina II. He had favored reform from the top down and obedience to authority, as a passage in a letter to his mother makes painfully clear: "...das Vernünftige muß von oben herabkommen und allgemein gemacht werden. Ihr versteht das nicht. Gehorcht den Gesetzen und geht in Eure Kirche."⁷⁷ As Stephan points out, the probable reason for Seume's advocacy of monarchy is the pessimistic assumption that the ordinary individual is powerless to change things anyway: "Der Apologie von Monarchie...liegt...die fatalistische Überlegung zugrunde, daß letzten Endes die Übel der gegebenen Welt nicht abgeändert werden können."⁷⁸ But in his later writings (after what Stephan refers to as his 'Wandel'), Seume takes a slightly more positive attitude towards the possible enlightenment of the common man, and hopes that he can contribute something towards the attainment of this goal. In another passage from the foreword to Spaziergang, he informs the reader that the upper classes are not his intended audience: "Ich fühle sehr wohl, daß diese Bogen keine Lektüre für Toiletten sein können. Dazu müßte vieles heraus und vieles müßte anders sein. Wenn aber hier und da ein guter, unbefangener, rechtlicher, entschlossener Mann einige Gedanken für sich und andere brauchen kann, so soll mir die Erinnerung Freude machen" (II, p. 8). And the foreword to Mein Sommer 1805, like that of Spaziergang nach Syrakus, calls attention to the fact that Seume is freer than others to state

his opinions: "Hunderttausende denken wie ich; aber niemand hat vielleicht die Pflicht oder die Gelegenheit, es öffentlich zu sagen" (IV, p. 9). In a letter to his friend Münchhausen he clearly expresses his new sense of mission, while pointing out that the ideas (in Spaziergang) are ones he has held for a long time: "Die Meinungen, welche ich darin äussere haben fünf und zwanzig Jahre in meiner Seele geruht. Ich werde mein ganzes Leben darüber breiten, und wenn ich endlich nun ein Büchlein fertige, das den Plato, den Aristoteles, den Bacon, Machiavell, Hobbes und Kant etwas mehr ins Licht setzt, so habe ich doch nicht umsonst vegetirt. Was kann man Heiligeres auf der Welt unternehmen als durch gründlichere Ideen endlich Gerechtigkeit und Freiheit schaffen zu helfen?"⁷⁹

It becomes clear that the political change from monarchist to republican, although important in the development of Seume's political thought, does not indicate an abrupt change in his underlying convictions. Rather it indicates a shift of emphasis, albeit one of considerable importance. But even as a monarchist Seume was never an advocate of the cynical and unscrupulous exercise of power. In the conventional Enlightenment fashion, he had argued that a king should work for the good of all: "Ein Monarch ist schon durch die Natur verbunden, es mag ein ausdrücklicher Staatsvertrag vorhanden sein oder nicht, das ganze Wohl aller seiner Völker wahrzunehmen, ihre Sicherheit und ihre Ruhe zu begründen..." (IX, p. 135). So long as this state of affairs is

assumed to be even partially true, the common man's place is to maintain his personal dignity by doing what is expected of an upright individual: "Ich thue gewiß meine Pflicht als ein braver Mann..." as he had written to Schiller.⁸⁰ Meanwhile, one could hope that a strong ruler would improve the lot of the ordinary citizen. This hope is given somewhat sardonic expression in one of the Apokryphen: "Ein Despot ist vielleicht besser als viele; der Haifisch reinigt die See von Hechten, diese Hechte seien nun Bonzen, Bassen, Mandarinen, Edelleute, Mönche oder Demagogen" (VII, p. 175).

But as Stephan observes, watching the career of Napoleon helped rid Seume's mind of the notion that the great would necessarily work towards the betterment of the little: "Die Restauration unter Napoleon veranlaßt Seume nun zu einer teilweisen Revision seines Gesellschaftsbildes, das immer mehr egalitäre Züge annimmt. Im Laufe seiner Auseinandersetzung mit der Gestalt Napoleons ist ein immer stärkeres Abrücken von seiner früheren Verehrung antiker und neuerer Helden und großer Staatsmänner zu beobachten."⁸¹ Seume's own words confirm this statement. Napoleon, Seume realizes, has betrayed the Enlightenment ideals of freedom and equality which had originally inspired the French Revolution: "Wenn Bonaparte die Stimme der Vernunft und Gerechtigkeit gehört hätte, er wäre die Sonne der Humanität. Er hat in sich selbst das schönste, reinste, höchste Ideal verdorben, das das Schicksal zum Heil der Menschheit aufstellen zu wollen schien" (VII, p. 194).

This fills Seume with deep personal disappointment, quashing as it does his hopes of seeing a truly great man emerge: "Ich könnte weinen; es ist mir, als ob ein böser Geist meinen Himmel verdorben hätte. Ich wollte so gern einmal einen wahrhaft großen Mann rein verehren; das kann ich nun hier nicht" (III, p. 143). One of the worst aspects of Napoleonic policy from Seume's point of view was the First Consul's willingness to allow the petty German princes to retain their power as long as they supported him. The Rheinbund, Seume realizes, is a parasitic collaboration of lesser rulers with a greater one, which would only prolong the existence of the old system and delay meaningful reform in Germany: "Was von der Nation für die Nation zu hoffen wäre, zerstören gewiß die Fürsten und Edelleute, um ihre unsinnigen Privilegien zu retten. Bonapartes beste Trabanten sind von nun an die deutschen Fürsten und Edelleute" (VII, p. 188). With the hope of reform at the hand of a great man having turned out to be an illusion, Seume must place his faith in mankind in general, on whose behalf he pledges to continue to work, although despairing of his own situation: "Für mich selbst habe ich mich so ziemlich von Furcht und Hoffnung losgemacht; aber für die Menschheit, für Licht und Recht und endliche Vernunft zu hoffen und zu sprechen und zu arbeiten, will ich nicht eher aufhören, als bis meine Zunge den letzten Gedanken stammelt" (V, p. 14).

Thus it becomes clear that Seume's political change from monarchist to republican does not so much represent an about-face or

repudiation of earlier principles as it does a shift of emphasis. Hopes for improvement of the human condition which were formerly placed on the great individual are now invested in mankind. Nevertheless, Seume's more positive view of the masses remains cautious, to say the least. Perhaps thinking of his own past, as well as the sordid behavior which so often emerges in public affairs (an example from Seume's day might be Napoleon's involvement in the kidnapping and execution of the Duc d'Enghien), he comes to think of virtue as something more likely to prosper in private affairs than in public ones. Regarding himself, he realizes that he was more capable of conceiving of the good than he was of acting upon those thoughts: "Ich beruhige mich also mit der Überzeugung, nach der besten Einsicht immer nur das Gute und Rechte gewollt und wenn es galt [my emphasis] auch getan zu haben" (V, p. 7). And when reflecting on human behavior in the public arena, Seume remains pessimistic, despite his avowed commitment to public enlightenment. It is interesting to observe that when he allows himself to imagine his writing benefiting someone, he does not imagine a group or association, but rather a solitary individual (indeed one whose attributes are very similar to those he ascribes to himself), who may share the fruits of his reading with friends: "Wenn aber hier und da ein guter, unbefangener, rechtlicher, entschlossener Mann einige Gedanken für sich und andere brauchen kann, so soll mir die Erinnerung Freude machen" (II, p. 8). When he does conceive of mankind en masse, he remains a pessimist: "Ich bin fest überzeugt, wo zehntausend

rein aufgeklärte, fest ehrliche, nichts fürchtende, entschlossene Männer wären, würde die Wiege des Universalreichs der Vernunft sein. Aber wo sind zehen? Und welche Stufe zu zehentausend!" (VII, p. 176). In another of the Apokryphen, Seume expresses his doubt that reason predominates in public affairs: "Ob die Menschen Vernunft haben, ist mir entsetzlich problematisch; ich habe wenigstens in ihren politischen, philosophischen und öffentlichen moralischen Verkehrungen sehr wenig davon wahrgenommen. Am meisten Vernunftähnliches findet man noch im Häuslichen" (VII, p. 130).

Returning to the theme of individuality, we may conclude that Seume succeeds in defining himself in terms of personal integrity. He was able to act in accordance with his principles of personal honesty in the private sphere, the confrontations with the schoolmaster, the corrupt food purveyors, and the Italian ruffians. But in the 'große Welt,' while seeking a career and advancement, he was not always able to reconcile thought and action. During this period, which he did not live long enough to write an account of in Mein Leben, he explained his actions in terms of duty, as a letter to a friend makes clear: "Ich that damals als russischer Offizier meine Schuldigkeit und dachte sodann über die Sache nach meiner Weise."⁸² Only when he is dismissed from Russian service, and then later chooses not to take a Russian professorship or military position, but instead to lead the life of a poor wanderer free to comment in his own way on what he

sees, is Seume able to realize the ideal of personal honesty which had been with him at least since Leipzig, and probably since childhood. Realizing that his own integrity has been attained only through his outsider status, and doubtless ever-mindful of the decline of Enlightenment values in public affairs which Napoleon's vulgar imperial ambitions made so apparent to the world, Seume, not surprisingly was struck by a certain maxim he had read in an English play, and made a note of it: "Je mehr ich mich in der Welt umsehe, desto mehr werde ich der Meinung des Addisonischen Cato: 'The post of honour is a private station'" (VII, p. 129).

Summary

In conclusion we may observe that these authors, Leukhard, Maimon and Seume, as well as sharing the trait of presenting the self largely in terms of a predominant characteristic, are all also strong adherents of Enlightenment values. All are against superstition and religion, and associate the latter with the former. (If with regard to Seume this point has been obscured by consideration of his political views, one need only recall the many anti-clerical passages in his works [II, p. 154; III, p. 122; III, p. 123; IV, p. 107; VIII, p. 144], and perhaps as representative of these a passage from Spaziergänge nach Sorbus, in which he characterizes the chanting of monks as the expression of "dummer Hirnbildung in vernunftlosem Glauben" [II, p. 102]). These

three authors have stressed Vernunft, though each of them has emphasized a different aspect of man's powers of reason. With Laukhard, who like Seume is a passionate observer of the political developments of his times, reason manifests itself as the ability to form intelligent opinions about public affairs. Regarding his own affairs Laukhard is reluctant to undertake a dispassionate inquiry, and excuses his behavior by rationalization and mention of his apparently ungovernable Leichtsin. For Maimon, the least politically-minded of the three, reason consists of the ability to think logically, particularly about abstractions. He presents this faculty as mysteriously immanent, rather than developing within him, and he exercises it relentlessly regardless of social context, thus not infrequently offending those around him. For Seume, Vernunft consists not only of intelligent thinking about public affairs, but also of its application to his own conduct. His emphasis on integrity is a strong personal expression of his commitment to reason, for by living as a free man he endeavors to set an example and demonstrate that one can live (although in penury) as "ein freier Mensch," instead of assuming a place in the network of privilege and oppression which characterized German society in his time. Among our three authors we can also notice a progression from a weaker, more negative self-image towards a stronger, more positive one. Laukhard only implicitly presents himself as an Enlightenment man, against the avowed intention of his text. Maimon, by the very modesty with which he proclaims his

achievements and the accolades given to them, reveals how insecure he actually must have felt about recognition of his accomplishments. For otherwise he himself would not have had to intrude so baldly with them. Only Seume, who by not accepting Russian service cuts his ties with what he views as corrupt society, can straightforwardly characterize himself as a man of integrity and do so convincingly. He is not ostensibly self-effacing like Lavkhard, nor self-congratulatory like Maimon. When he tells a self-aggrandizing anecdote, as he does on occasion, it is with an air of quiet satisfaction, rather than with the almost childish need for self-assertion which Maimon exhibits. As Pikulik observes, "Seume, ein gerechter unter vielen Sündern, scheint, bei allem Leiden an der Zeit, wenigstens mit sich selbst völlig im reinen."⁸³

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER III

- 1 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 184.
- 2 Zwi Batscha, "Nachwort," in Salomon Maimons Lebensgeschichte, ed. Zwi Batscha (Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 1984), p. 339.
- 3 Inge Stephan, Johann Gottfried Seume: ein politischer Schriftsteller der deutschen Spätaufklärung (Stuttgart: Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1973), p. 1.
- 4 Johann Gottfried Seume, Mein Leben, in J. G. Seume, Prosaïsche und poetische Werke, 10 Teile (in four volumes), (Berlin: Hempel, 1879), I, p. 8. All further references to Seume's literary works (but not his letters) will be from this edition, and Teil and page number will be given in the text.
- 5 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 102.
- 6 Viktor Petersen, "Einleitung," in Magister F. Ch. Laukhards Leben und Schicksale von ihm selbst beschrieben, ed. Viktor Petersen (Stuttgart: Lutz, 1908), p. xviii, footnote: "In dem Leben dieses Menschen war nicht weniger als alles absonderlich. Nicht einmal sein Geburtsjahr hat er gekannt, er, der ein Gelehrter und dazu der Sohn eines Pfarrers, also Hüters der damaligen Geburtsurkunden war! Denn er ist nicht, wie er selbst angibt...1758, sondern am 7. Juni 1757, zwischen sieben und acht Uhr des Abends, geboren. Ich verdanke diese interessante Notiz der Güte des Herrn Oberlehrers Friedrich Schläger in Offenbach a. Main, der das auf der Bürgermeisterei zu Wendelsheim (Rhein-hessen), Laukhards Geburtsort, aufbewahrte Kirchenbuch auf meine Bitte persönlich eingesehen hat."
- 7 Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, ed. Historical Commission of the Royal Academy of Sciences (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1883), vol. 18, p. 48.
- 8 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 183 footnote.
- 9 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 184.
- 10 Petersen, in Magister F. Ch. Laukhards Leben und Schicksale, ed. Viktor Petersen (Stuttgart: Lutz, 1908), pp. 336-337. All quotations from Laukhard will refer to this edition, and volume and page number will be given in the text.
- 11 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 184 footnote.

- 12 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 168.
- 13 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 197.
- 14 Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, vol. 18, p. 42.
- 15 Robert Prutz, Menschen und Bücher: Biographische Beiträge zur deutschen Literatur und Sittengeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts (Leipzig: Franz Wagner, 1862), p. 452.
- 16 Peter Lahnstein, "Die Kampagne in Frankreich: eine Studie über die Aufzeichnungen Goethes und Laukhards," Neue Rundschau, 74 (1963), p. 419.
- 17 Sieglinde Fischer, "Friedrich Christian Laukhards Haltung zur Religion," Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich Schiller Universität, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe, 29 (1980), p. 367.
- 18 Gustav Roethe, Goethes Campagne in Frankreich 1792. Eine philologische Untersuchung aus dem Weltkrieg (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1919), p. 9.
- 19 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 178.
- 20 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 189.
- 21 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 189.
- 22 For "treasonable flight to Varennes" see A. Goodwin, The French Revolution (London: Hutchinson, 1967), p. 90: "the flight was...regarded as one way of forcing the hands of the monarchy's reluctant foreign sympathisers." From the republican point of view this appeal to a foreign enemy was treason against the French state. For the execution being for some a political necessity, see R. Ben Jones, The French Revolution (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1968), pp. 115-116: "For the Jacobins, it was a triumph both against their rivals and the counter-revolution. There was now no chance of a compromise, and Europe could avenge Louis's death only by crushing the Revolution: the Jacobins had forced upon France a choice the significance of which leading politicians well understood--Louis had died so that the Revolution should go forward beyond the point at which the Girondins had hoped to stop it."
- 23 Jacques Godechot, The Counter-Revolution: Doctrine and Action, 1789-1804, trans. Salvator Attanasio (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 167: "At all events, Brunswick attributed his failure above all to the emigrés. He considered that he had been grossly misinformed by them and adopted a harsh attitude towards them as a result."

24 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 196.

25 Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, vol. 18, p. 44.

26 The most detailed information concerning the date is found in Samuel Atlas, From Critical to Speculative Idealism: The Philosophy of Solomon Maimon (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1964), p. 3: "It is generally assumed that Maimon was born in 1754 or 1753. But the year 1752 seems more likely. Nowhere does Maimon mention his exact age, nor is there a reference to the exact date of his birth in his writing....However, we can establish 1752 as the year of Maimon's birth on the following basis....Maimon relates in his Lebensgeschichte that he arrived in Posen before the Jewish High Holidays. This must have been in the year 1777, since Rabbi Zvi Hirsh ben Abraham of Posen, Maimon's benefactor there, left the city for Fürth in the beginning of 1778....Maimon must have arrived in Königsberg in early summer of 1777...., for he states that he spent the Fast of the Ninth of Ab (August) on the way from Stettin to Berlin, and the journey from Königsberg to Stettin took about five weeks. It seems, therefore, that Maimon was born in the year 1752, and on his arrival in Königsberg in the early summer he was about twenty-five years old." The most detailed information concerning the place of birth is found in Samuel Hugo Bergman, The Philosophy of Solomon Maimon, trans. Noah J. Jacobs (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1967), p. 1: "In most books the place of birth is given as Jesvij in Lithuania, one of the cities under the rule of Prince Radziwill. Lachover, however, takes this as an error. Maimon was born in Sukoviborg, a small town on the Niemen, in the vicinity of the city of Mirz or Mir, where his grandfather had a chasaka (i.e., a lease or property rights) of a warehouse situated there at a small harbor."

27 Salomon Maimon, Lebensgeschichte, ed. Jakob Fromer (München: Georg Müller, 1911), p. 91. All subsequent references will be to this edition, and page numbers will be given in parentheses within the text.

28 Kant's letter of 26.5.1789 to Marcus Herz is reproduced in part by Maimon in Lebensgeschichte, p. 314.

29 Friedrich Kuntze, "Die Selbstbiographie und Lebenstragödie des Philosophen Salomon Maimon (1754-1800)," Deutsche Rundschau, 53 (1927), p. 256: "Dies Urteil Kants (das dieser später übrigens modifizierte) war natürlich für Maimon dasselbe was die Springwurzel im Märchen ist: es tat ihm alle Türen der gelehrten Wirkungsmöglichkeit auf. Die angesehensten Zeitschriften rechneten sich seine Mitarbeit zur Ehre an; er hatte Zutritt zu jeder Gesellschaft, in der Gelehrsamkeit und Geist als Legitimation galt. Er entfaltete denn auch alsbald eine rege publizistische Tätigkeit, mit deren Schilderung seine Lebenserinnerungen schließen."

- 30 Zwi Batscha, ed. Salomon Maimons Lebensgeschichte, (Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 1984), "Nachwort," p. 339.
- 31 Atlas, From Critical to Speculative Idealism, p. 2.
- 32 Bergman, The Philosophy of Solomon Maimon, p. 1.
- 33 Atlas, From Critical to Speculative Idealism, p. 12.
- 34 Niggel, Geschichte, p. 141.
- 35 Niggel, Geschichte, p. 141.
- 36 J. Clark Murray, trans., Solomon Maimon: an Autobiography (Boston: Cupples and Hurd, 1888), p. xii.
- 37 Bernard Cherrick, preface, The Everlasting Nay, by Herbert Friedenthal (London: M. L. Caillingold, 1944), p. 8.
- 38 Kuntze, "Die Selbstbiographie und Lebenstragödie des Philosophen Salomon Maimon (1754-1800)," p. 253.
- 39 Kuntze, "Die Selbstbiographie und Lebenstragödie des Philosophen Salomon Maimon (1754-1800)," p. 253.
- 40 J. Clark Murray, trans., Solomon Maimon: an Autobiography, p. xii.
- 41 Atlas, From Critical to Speculative Idealism, p. 12.
- 42 Atlas, From Critical to Speculative Idealism, p. 12.
- 43 Lazarus Bendavid, "Über Salomon Maimon," Nationalzeitung für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Gewerbe in den preußischen Staaten, nebst einem Korrespondenz-Blatte, vol. 1 (1801), p. 91, cited in Batscha, ed., Salomon Maimons Lebensgeschichte, p. 344.
- 44 Atlas, From Critical to Speculative Idealism, p. 3.
- 45 Murray omits the philosophical sections altogether, while Fromer and Batscha include them in appendices. The original Lebensgeschichte (Berlin: Vieweg, 1792) is reprinted in Salomon Maimon, Gesammelte Werke, ed. Valerio Verra (Hildesheim: Olms, 1965), vol. 1.
- 46 Karl Philipp Moritz, "Vorbericht des Herausgebers," in Fromer, Salomon Maimons Lebensgeschichte, p. 65.
- 47 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 102.
- 48 Atlas, From Critical to Speculative Idealism, p. 1.

- 49 Niggel, Geschichte, p. 141.
- 50 Karl Philipp Moritz, Anton Reiser, p. 36.
- 51 As to general usage of Vernunft and Verstand, we may bear in mind the remarks of R. B. Farrell, Dictionary of German Synonyms (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 215: "Kant's distinction between Verstand (the faculty of clear and logical thinking on sensuous material) and Vernunft (the faculty of perceiving the relationships in non-sensuous material and of integrating them into a whole) is not observed in the everyday use of these terms." As for Maimon, at times he writes as though he distinguishes between the two: "Die erste Ursache (die eine vollständige unendliche Reihe von Ursachen und also in der Tat einen Widerspruch enthält, weil das Unendliche nie vollständig werden kann) ist kein Objekt des Verstandes, sondern eine Vernunftidee..." (p. 89). But at other times he writes as though the terms are interchangeable. In his translation of Maimonides we read: "Wenn du also von Gott einen richtigen Begriff erlangt haben wirst, mußst du anfangen, dich ihm zu ergeben, dich ihm zu nähern und das Band zwischen dir und ihm (den Verstand) beständig zu befestigen" (p. 462). Yet a page later he writes, "Ich habe schon gezeigt, daß die Vernunft, die Gott uns mitgeteilt hat, das Band zwischen uns und ihm ausmacht" (p. 463). It would seem that in this work at least, which was not intended solely for philosophers, Maimon does not intend to distinguish consistently between the two.
- 52 Karl Philipp Moritz, Anton Reiser, p. 53.
- 53 Karl Philipp Moritz, Anton Reiser, p. 59.
- 54 Karl Philipp Moritz, Anton Reiser, p. 59.
- 55 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Confessions, anonymous translation (London: William Glaisher, 1875), pp. 70-71.
- 56 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 178.
- 57 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 209.
- 58 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 178.
- 59 Lothar Pikulik, "Johann Gottfried Seume," in Deutsche Dichter des 18ten Jahrhunderts, ed. Benno von Wiese (Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1977), p. 977.
- 60 Johann Wolfgang Goethe, "Nekrolog des deutschen Gil Blas," in Gedenkausgabe der Werke, Briefe und Gespräche, ed. Ernst Beutler (Zürich: Artemis, 1950), vol. 14, p. 502.

61 Inge Stephan, Johann Gottfried Seume: ein politischer Schriftsteller der deutschen Spätaufklärung (Stuttgart: Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1973), p. 35.

62 Stephan, Seume, p. 43: "Eine Offizierstelle, die ihm Fr. M. Klinger im rußischen Heere vermitteln wollte, lehnte er ebenso ab wie eine Professur an der Universität von Dorpat."

63 Stephan, Seume, p. 29: "Ein kaiserlicher Ukas beorderte sämtliche beurlaubten Offiziere auf dem schnellsten Wege nach Rußland zurück und schloß alle diejenigen aus dem Dienst aus, die nicht rechtzeitig eintrafen. Seume erhielt den Befehl erst, als der Termin längst verstrichen war. Unter der darauf verhängten unehrenhaften Entlassung, die mit dem Verlust der Pension Ansprüche in der Höhe des letzten Dienstgehaltes verbunden war, hat Seume sehr gelitten und zeitlebens um deren Widerrufung gekämpft. Den ehrenhaften Abschied erhielt er zwar noch, nicht aber die Pension; diese wurde ihm erst knapp einen Monat nach seinem Tode durch Vermittlung Wielands von der Zarin Maria gewährt."

64 For example, Stephan, Seume, p. 7: "In der posthumen Seume-Rezeption nimmt [Clodius'] Fortsetzung von Mein Leben eine 'Monopolstellung' ein. Der Hauptgrund hierfür liegt wohl darin, daß sie in fast allen Seume-Ausgaben wieder zum Abdruck kam und daher eine relativ große Verbreitung fand. Zudem schliff Clodius dem etwa schon bestehenden Seume-Bild posthum die Kanten ab und sorgte dafür, daß der um politische Aufklärung bemühte Schriftsteller als rührend rechtschaffener Sonderling in den Gemütsbesitz der Nachwelt übergehen konnte."

65 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 181.

66 Pikulik, "Seume," p. 978.

67 Stephan, Seume, p. 55.

68 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 180.

69 Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, ed. Historical Commission of the Royal Academy of Sciences (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1883), vol. 34, p. 66.

70 Kurt Arnold Findeisen, Johann Gottfried Seume. Wanderer. Soldat. Patriot (Dresden: Verlag Heimatwerk Sachsen, 1938), p. 6.

71 Johannes Hunger, Johann Gottfried Seume. Leben und Werken eines aufrechten Demokraten und großen Patrioten (Berlin: Kongreß-Verlag, 1953).

72 Pikulik, "Seume," p. 989.

- 73 Pikulik, "Seume," p. 998.
- 74 Gert Kostencki, Johann Gottfried Seume. Absicht. Selbstdarstellung. Gedankenwelt. Versuch einer Revision (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1979), p. 19.
- 75 Kostencki, Seume, p. 79.
- 76 Seume to Schiller, 5.6.1793, quoted in Stephan, Seume, p. 27.
- 77 Seume to his mother circa 1796, quoted in Stephan, Seume, p. 27.
- 78 Stephan, Seume, p. 77.
- 79 Letter of 1803 to Karl Ludwig von Münchhausen in Rolf Kraft, "Unbekannte Briefe an Karl Ludwig Freiherrn von Münchhausen 1792-1806," Euphorion, 63 (1969), p. 192.
- 80 Seume to Schiller, 5.6.1793, quoted in Stephan, Seume, p. 27.
- 81 Stephan, Seume, p. 102.
- 82 Seume to Archenholz, 20.3.1798, quoted in Stephan, Seume, p. 27.
- 83 Pikulik, "Seume," p. 990.

IV. Individuality Emergent: Bahrddt, Bräker, Moritz

So far we have concerned ourselves with authors who have presented themselves in terms of roles (Prosch, Brandes, Schubart), or who have emphasized one predominant characteristic (Laukhard, Maimon, Seume). In this final chapter we shall encounter the three authors who succeed, to varying degrees, in presenting a more complex, multi-faceted account of their individuality. Rather than describing themselves in terms of a role, or emphasizing a faculty (reason) or a characteristic (integrity), each of these authors is aware "that his very self represents one unique and unrepeatable form of being human,"¹ and shows some sensitivity towards "the drama of an idiosyncratic inner life."²

Like Laukhard, Maimon and Seume, all three of these authors may be considered outsiders as well: Bahrddt, often referred to as the 'enfant terrible' of the German Enlightenment, is finally ejected from the academic community after a series of acrimonious disputes and long-running vendettas. Bräker, at the end of his life, finds himself suspended uneasily between the two worlds he sought --at least within himself--to reconcile: that is, he is rather grudgingly tolerated by the bourgeois members of the reading society he has joined, while at the same time being regarded with

some suspicion for his book-learning by the unlettered folk among whom he must live. And Karl Philipp Moritz, despite becoming a Hofrat and personal friend of Goethe, according to Mark Boulby never ceases to be haunted by the spectre of the anxiety-ridden and nerve-wrackingly uncertain past which he endured before becoming a respected (if eccentric) academic figure in Berlin.³ But unlike the authors of Chapter III, none of these autobiographers seeks the safe if circumscribed refuge of one predominant characteristic through which to establish an identity. Rather, their self-presentation exhibits a greater complexity. Bahrdt, while too unabashedly self-aggrandizing to be able to depict any serious unresolved tensions or inner conflicts, is at least capable of attributing to himself a variety of characteristics, in contrast to the single predominating characteristic emphasized by Laukhard, Maimon and Seume. Bräker's situation, on the other hand, is somewhat similar to that of Laukhard: while ostensibly presenting himself in one way, namely as a simple country bumpkin, other indications within belie this self-caricature, and present a person quite aware of the various conflicting impulses which together make up his individuality. And finally there is Moritz, who, while rather single-mindedly concentrating on one aspect of his earlier self, the development of his feelings of inferiority and worthlessness, nevertheless explicates this process in such detail and from such a variety of different perspectives that his autobiography comprises the most complex and penetrating portrayal of individual personality among our nine

authors. Also, Moritz is the only one of these autobiographers to address himself directly to the problem of individuality. Anton Reiser contains passages discussing what it means to be one among the many, whereas the other authors deal with this only implicitly. These passages will be examined in some detail, and it will be seen that Moritz has considered the problem of individual existence not just in a social context, nor just as a matter of possessing certain traits, but from what may truly be called a metaphysical aspect.

The question naturally arises: what factors contributed to these authors' being capable of depicting themselves in a more complex fashion than those previously considered? One must leave room for the intangible individual factor, of course: simply 'the way they were' allowed or compelled them to look more deeply into their personalities than others. And in a non-mechanistic, non-determinist world view this argument must be accorded some validity. But aside from this intangible element, one can identify two predominant external factors which assist them in perceiving and expressing a more complicated version of the self. First, all three are brought into contact with Pietism. (The only one of the previous authors significantly influenced by Pietism, Schubart, experienced it as an adult, and at the hands of a prison warden rather than as an ambient cultural influence.) Secondly, these three authors are literate and up-to-date enough to borrow devices from the narrative fiction then in vogue

(particularly the novel), and use these devices to assist them in describing both external situations and internal states of mind more convincingly.

Karl Friedrich Bahrdt: Geschichte seines Lebens, seiner Meinungen und Schicksale

Karl Friedrich Bahrdt, whose name, when referred to at all by German literary historians, is usually accompanied by such adjectives as "berüchtigt" or "verschrien", was born in Bischofswerda in 1741, the son of an orthodox Lutheran clergyman.⁴ He attended the well-known Schulpforta school and the University of Leipzig. With the help of his father's influence his own theological studies proceeded with an almost unseemly alacrity. At twenty he was a Magister giving lectures in Leipzig, and by twenty-five had obtained--through correspondence--a doctoral degree from the University of Erlangen. Early in his career he was a fiery traditionalist, and a favorite of such stalwarts of orthodoxy as Pastor Goeze. "Er predigte so orthodox und hitzig, daß man ihn für einen Mann hielt, der Blutgerüste bauen und Scheiterhaufen anzünden würde, wenn wir 3- oder 400 Jahre zurück lebten und er eine päpstliche oder erzbischöfliche Gewalt dazu hätte," wrote a nineteenth-century commentator.⁵ One of Bahrdt's earliest publications, Der wahre Christ in der Einsamkeit (1763), 'improved' a popular sentimental religious tract of the time, Der Christ in der Einsamkeit by Martin Crugott (1761), by supplying more ortho-

dox dogma than the original had provided. However, personal scandal involving a prostitute, an incident which Bahrdt characteristically blamed on the machinations of adversaries, brought his days in Leipzig to an end, and he found himself forced to accept an unpaid position as a lecturer at the University of Erfurt.

It was in Erfurt that Bahrdt's proud and quarrelsome nature quickly came into conflict with the rigid and equally contentious Lutheran establishment, and started him down the road of religious disputation which came to characterize his life. Still professing orthodoxy at this point, he nevertheless quibbled about certain philological details of the orthodox Biblical interpretation, and suggested alternative readings. The orthodox camp sent spies to his lectures to make written records of his 'errors.' Eventually a reprimand came to him from the theological faculty of Wittenberg, to whom an opponent had addressed a grievance. Bahrdt's response was typically hotheaded and recalcitrant: "Und wenn zehn Fakultäten wider mich auftreten, so werde ich nicht einen Schritt zurückweichen."⁶ Despite this declaration he found it prudent to accept a position elsewhere, this time in Giessen. It was while living in Giessen that he published perhaps his most widely-known work, Die neuesten Offenbarungen Gottes in Briefen und Erzählungen verdeutscht durch Dr. Bahrdt (1773). This translation--or paraphrase, depending on one's point of view,--of the New Testament immediately unleashed a storm of controversy

throughout the learned community in Germany. Goeze, Bahrdt's former friend, entitled his pamphlet against the work Beweis, daß die Bahrdt'sche Verdeutschung des Neuen Testaments keine Übersetzung, sondern eine vorsätzliche Verfälschung des Wort Gottes sei.⁷ Lessing, while not speaking out in favor of Bahrdt's translation per se, defended in Voltairean fashion his right to undertake such an act: "Was hatte Luther für Rechte, die nicht doch jeder Doktor der Theologie hat? Wenn es itzt keinem Doktor der Theologie erlaubt seyn soll, die Bibel aufs neue so zu übersetzen, wie er es vor Gott und seinem Gewissen verantworten kann: so war es auch Luthern nicht erlaubt."⁸ But an objection voiced by many people, including those who were not strictly orthodox in their religious convictions, was that Bahrdt's modernizations were too radical, and showed insufficient respect for the antiquity and spirit of the original. Goethe, for example, in his brief satire, "Prolog zu den neuesten Offenbarungen Gottes verdeutscht durch Dr. Carl-Friedrich Bahrdt" (1774), has the would-be translator remark to his wife, "Da kam mir ein Einfall von ungefähr,/So redt' ich wenn ich Christus wär'."⁹ A similar criticism was voiced by Goethe in a Frankfurter Gelehrte Anzeiger review of another of Bahrdt's works of this period, Eden, das ist: Betrachtungen über das Paradies und die darinnen vorgefallenen Begebenheiten (1772). Regarding Bahrdt's treatment of Old Testament materials Goethe wrote: "Hätte der Verfasser sich den Schriften Mosis auch nur als einem der ältesten Monumente des menschlichen Geistes, als Bruchstücken einer ägyptischen Pyramide

mit Ehrfurcht zu nähern gewußt, so würde er die Bilder der morgenländischen Dichtkunst nicht in einer homelitischen Sündenfluth ersäuft, nicht jedes Glied dieses Torso abgerissen, zerhauen und in ihm Bestandtheile deutscher Universitätsbegriffe des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts aufgedeckt haben. Es ist ekelhaft anzusehen, wenn uns ein solcher Scribent, wie dieser, unterscheiden will: das hat die ewige Weisheit unter der Geschichte Edens, unter dem Bild der Schlange gelehrt, und das hat sie nicht gelehrt."¹⁰

This tendency to view events long past through the distorting lenses of the Zeitgeist of the eighteenth century does not diminish as Bahrtdt advances in age, but remains constant throughout his career. If Lessing's Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts can be said to represent a sophisticated attempt to demystify religion and make it more compatible with reason, Bahrtdt's writings represent rather literal and pedestrian steps in the same direction. Two later works are entitled Briefe über die Bibel im Volkston (1782) and Ausführung des Plans und Zweckes Jesu (1783-1785). In the former, Bahrtdt endeavors to provide 'natural' explanations for the miracles of Christ: "Die Krankheilungen geschahen mit Hülfe von Heilmitteln, die er als arcana und als Universalmedizin bei sich führte, die Todtenerweckungen waren Erweckungen aus tiefer Ohnmacht. Auf der Hochzeit zu Kana hatte Jesus einen Vorrath von (vielleicht nur gemachtem) Wein zur Hand. Die Speisung der 5000 wurde dadurch möglich, daß Jesus einen Korb mit verschnittenem Brod nach dem andern aus einer Höhle tragen ließ,

wohin Tags vorher Brodvorräthe in Menge geschafft worden waren; das Wandeln auf dem Meere ist geschehen auf einem ungeheuren hundert-elligen Stück Bauholz."¹¹ In the latter Bahrdt, an ardent Freemason as well as a man who attempted to found a secret society of his own, recasts Jesus and the Disciples as founders of a secret rationalist order designed to free the people of the superstitious remnants clinging to Judaism and other religions. Bahrdt imagines "Der Orden Jesu" as consisting of three ranks, after the fashion of many of the secret societies of his day. Members of the highest rank were guided entirely by reason. According to the account of a nineteenth-century commentator, "Erforderniß zur Aufnahme in den dritten Grad war--von neuem geboren zu werden, d.h., die ganze alte Ideenmasse umkehren, alle positive Religion verabschieden und allein im Lichte der reinen Vernunft wandeln."¹² Members of other ranks, however, had to be addressed in terms they would be able to understand, hence the miracles of the four gospels, intended for the still superstitious masses, and the symbolism of the apostolic books, intended (according to Bahrdt) for initiates of the second rank, who were still in need of an allegorical mode of presentation. In general, Bahrdt's portrayal of Biblical figures in terms of his own eighteenth-century preoccupations reminds one of the earnest early twentieth-century American businessmen, who, inculcated with the importance of the Bible but also of material success, saw in Moses "one of the greatest salesmen and real-estate

promoters that ever lived," and in Jesus "the founder of modern business."¹³

But to return to the story of Bahrdt's life: though by no means chastened by the controversy and ensuing inquiry by theological authorities of Die neuesten Offenbarungen, he left Giessen for a position in a progressive boys' school (a Philanthropin, based on the educational principles of the Berlin educator Basedow) in Switzerland. After falling out with the director, Bahrdt was soon back in Germany, this time with the idea of founding his own Philanthropin in the principality of Leiningen-Dachsburg. But after a grandiose beginning, a three-day inaugural ball attended by hundreds of merry-makers, the enterprise soon encountered financial difficulties. Bahrdt undertook a trip to England and Holland in search of new recruits. But upon returning with enough new charges to ensure solvency, he found that due to unfavorable decisions by high ecclesiastical authorities he was under threat of imminent banishment from the Holy Roman Empire (of which Leiningen-Dachsburg was a part), and his Philanthropin collapsed. Rather than recanting before the authorities, Bahrdt published instead a defiant Glaubensbekenntnis (1779). Shortly thereafter he fled, pursued by creditors, to Halle, where the rule of the anti-clerical Frederick the Great ensured that religious adversaries would have little power to harass him. This is as far in his life story as Bahrdt's autobiography goes, despite the fact

that it was composed over ten years later, and could have included subsequent developments.

Bahrtdt's life in Halle was somewhat less tumultuous than in previous years. He lived in the city from 1779 until the death of Frederick the Great in 1786. The most notable of his writings from this period was the Kirchen- und Ketzer Almanach (1786), which employed the format of the Bauernkalender with its Saints days to lampoon various well-known figures, including Herder, Goethe and Kant. Upon Frederick's death Bahrtdt voluntarily ceased his lectures at the University of Halle, knowing that the new king, Frederick William II, who was under the influence of the religious reactionary ministers Wöllner and Bischoffwerder, would soon forbid them anyway. He bought a country inn outside the city and became a restaurateur. But the proclamation of a new Edict on Religion (1788), which decreed illegal all expression of liberal religious opinion, was too great a provocation for the veteran of so many disputes. A rather scurrilous satire, Das Religionsedikt. Ein Lustspiel, appeared anonymously in 1789 (recently reissued in facsimile [Heidelberg: Winter, 1986]). Bahrtdt was unmasked as the author and sentenced to two years in prison. The sentence was reduced to one year, and it was during this time that he wrote his autobiography, as well as several forgettable novels. After his release from prison Bahrtdt's life lasted long enough for only one more quarrel, this time with a certain self-important Dr. Zimmermann, who had attended Frederick the Great during his last

illness. This final altercation was the occasion for an especially coarse and scandalous satire entitled Dr. Bahrdt mit der eisernen Stirn (1790). Although Knigge was maliciously given as the author on the title page, this turned out to be the work of the well-established professional dramatist Kotzebue, who, most people felt, should have been above such crudities. As headstrong and heretical in medicinal matters as he was in theological ones, Bahrdt died in 1792 of self-induced mercury poisoning, having settled on this substance as a cure for a minor illness. As Magister Laukhard observed somewhat acidly, "Bahrdt wollte sich selbst curiren und curirte sich selbst ins Grab."¹⁴

Posterity as well has not been particularly kind to the memory of Karl Friedrich Bahrdt. Although in the year of his death the subject of two articles (totalling 328 pages) in Schlichtegroll's Nekrolog,¹⁵ according to a mid-nineteenth-century literary historian Bahrdt was almost entirely forgotten even before the turn of the century, due to public preoccupation with political upheavals (rather than religious quarrels) in the aftermath of the French Revolution.¹⁶ And indeed the first significant mention of Bahrdt was made by Gervinus, writing in 1841.¹⁷ His judgement is relatively positive. Despite saying that Bahrdt reveals himself "als einen Menschen ohne inneren Charakter,"¹⁸ Gervinus goes on to praise certain aspects of Bahrdt's autobiography. He was the first to notice the use of fictional techniques: "[Bahrdt] leitet die Züge seines moralischen und gelehr-

ten Charakters ganz wie jene Romanfiguren aus den kleinen Zufälligkeiten der Erziehung und Schule, pragmatisch her, und in einer Reihe solcher kleinen allmählicher Einwirkungen sehen wir den Helden...."¹⁹ He also praises its realism: "Wir haben...Weniges, was uns so hüllenlos in die wahren Zustände des Lebens, so weit es den Erzähler berührt, hineinblicken ließe, wie dieses Buch."²⁰

However, an 1850 essay by Robert Prutz, which was openly hostile towards its subject, established a derisive tone in criticism of Bahrdt which was to continue well into the twentieth century. This essay, which its author quite frankly admitted was a "sittliche Mahnung,"²¹ was openly tendentious as well. Writing in the wake of the revolutionary upheavels of 1848, Prutz said of Bahrdt: "er hat speculirt in Aufklärung, Toleranz und geistiger Freiheit, wie...heutzutage von nicht wenigen speculirt wird in politischer Freiheit, in Demokratie und Revolution."²² Bahrdt, for whom in Prutz's opinion the ideals of the Enlightenment were only "eine milchende Kuh, ein Gegenstand der Berechnung,"²³ was a discredit to the Enlightenment, just as contemporary political opportunists were discrediting democracy and freedom. But fortunately Bahrdt did not permanently tarnish the ideals he expropriated: "Der Schmutz, welchen Bahrdt in die Höhe spritzte, ist endlich nur auf ihn zurückgefallen; an dem reinen Gewande der Aufklärung ist nichts davon haften geblieben, noch schmeckt das Brot unserer Bildung schlechter, weil der Acker, auf welchem sie gewachsen, unter Anderm auch mit dem Unrath eines Bahrdt gedüngt

ward."²⁴ Prutz hopes that the opportunists and hangers-on, "die politischen Bahrdte unserer Tage,"²⁵ will not be able to inflict lasting damage on liberal political ideals.

As the nineteenth century progressed, the alleged parallels with unscrupulous political activists disappeared, but Bahrdt's reputation for complete unprincipledness was maintained by most authors who came to mention him. An 1866 article by Gustav Frank was considerably kinder to Bahrdt than the indignant and deprecatory Prutz,²⁶ but the better-known Hermann Hettner, in his widely-read Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im achtzehnten Jahrhundert (1862), wrote that Bahrdt joined the ranks of the Enlightenment "nicht aus der Notwendigkeit innerer Bildungskämpfe," but rather "wie ein Bankerotteur, der verzweifelt nach einem neuen Geschäft greift, um sich aus dem Schiffbruch des alten zu retten."²⁷ The most prestigious nineteenth-century commentator on Lessing, Erich Schmidt, also wrote disparagingly of Bahrdt. While admitting that Goeze's criticism of Bahrdt for his Bible translation may have been "zornig" and "viel zu ernst," he is nevertheless of the opinion "daß Goeze hier in gerechtem Streit einem unwürdigen und unverschämten Schwarmgeist den Fuß auf den Nacken gesetzt hat."²⁸ The view of Bahrdt as a cynical manipulator continued into the twentieth century. The editor of a 1922 edition of the autobiography, Felix Hasselberg, observed: "Alles in allem erscheint uns Bahrdt als ein Abenteuerer, ein windiger Projektenmacher und gewissenloser Spekulant mit den großen Ideen

seiner Zeit, die ihn doch im Innersten kaum berührten."²⁹

An alternative to this view was offered in The Notorious Dr. Bahrdt (1963), which remains the only book-length study of Bahrdt in English or German. While the nineteenth-century critics saw Bahrdt's conversion to the Enlightenment as a self-serving and conscious deception, Flygt writes of Bahrdt's "gradual and involuntary progress along the road of enlightenment."³⁰ And while admitting that in his private life Bahrdt appeared to maintain an "illusory belief in himself as excepted from the general principles of moral behavior,"³¹ he argues that "it would be a mistake to suppose, as his contemporaries and his biographers have done, that he was completely unprincipled."³² In matters of religious opinion, Flygt maintains, Bahrdt is capable of firm convictions and of adhering to them. As evidence of this he cites the matter of the Glaubensbekenntnis: "...when a little pretense would have saved him from ruin...he flung the challenge back into the teeth of his enemies and published a confession of faith."³³

Whether the nineteenth-century version of Bahrdt or Flygt's view of him is more likely to be closer to the truth will be considered shortly. For the present we may note that Flygt's revision and attempted rehabilitation of Bahrdt did not result in a revival of interest in him--at least in the West. A detailed and reliable West German history of German literature, edited by de Boor

and Newald (1957), mentions Bahrdt only in passing (in relation to the hardly more important figure of Zimmermann).³⁴ And the last Western article or book which did not discuss Bahrdt in relation to either a larger topic (autobiography),³⁵ or a more important figure (Goethe),³⁶ appeared in a specialized journal for bibliophiles, and concerned itself with the publication details of one of Bahrdt's ephemeral satirical novels.³⁷

In the German Democratic Republic, on the other hand, Bahrdt has undergone something of a revival, although independently of Flygt's efforts on his behalf. On the strength of his radical opinions and stubborn refusal to submit to authority, Bahrdt has been transformed, in the hands of Marxist critics, into a "Vorkämpfer der Menschenrechte"³⁸ and "aufrechter Demokrat,"³⁹ a sort of John the Baptist to Marx's Christ, who, instead of prophesying the 1848 revolution as Marx did, foresaw the coming of the French Revolution.⁴⁰ In light of this development it is not surprising to find that the only doctoral dissertation written on Bahrdt in the last twenty years comes from an East German university.⁴¹

Was Bahrdt just a "speculator" in the Enlightenment, someone who entered its ranks lacking real conviction, and with the primary aim of personal advancement? The majority of nineteenth-century literary historians felt that this was the case, and one of them,

Hettner, quotes Bahrdt's own "schönes Geständnis"⁴² in support of this view.

Ich glaube gewiß, daß ich lebenslang der Orthodoxie treu geblieben sein und meine Talente bloß darauf verwendet haben würde, das morsche Lehrgebäude haltbarer zu machen und mit philologischer Weisheit zu übertünchen, wenn ich nicht so viel Feindseligkeit von den Theologen zu erleiden gehabt hätte. Bloß dies, daß ich in Leipzig schon die Wirkungen des Neides über meinen Applaus empfinden mußte und hernach in Erfurt durch Kabale und Intoleranz so gemartert und geängstigt worden war, flößte mir eine Art von Widerwillen gegen die Orthodoxen ein und machte den Gedanken schon keimen,... daß die positive Religion verfolgungssüchtig mache und schärfere Prüfung verdiene. Hätte man mich in Ruhe gelassen und nicht durch stetes Hetzen und Verleumden mich genötigt, so lange ohne Pension zu leben und, bei dem Gefühle meines Wertes und meiner Talente, die armseligsten Ignoranten in fetten Pfründen zu sehen, indes ich mit Armut und Sorgen kämpfen mußte, so wäre ich vielleicht nie der Gegner der positiven Religion geworden, der ich ward und bin. (pp. 220-221)

This statement, while admitting personal motives, does nothing to support the insincerity in his Enlightenment views ascribed to him by the nineteenth-century critics. It was probably composed with the intention of discrediting his enemies by making them appear petty and mean ("Kabale und Intoleranz," "stetes Hetzen und Verleumdungen," etc.), rather than as the definitive statement on the causes of his abandonment of orthodoxy. For earlier in his autobiography, Bahrdt, while discussing the same topic, omits the personal element entirely and emphasizes instead the inevitabil-

ity of a retreat from orthodoxy once the seeds of doubt are sown.

Ich studierte nun mit unermüdetem Fleiße Geschichte und Sprachen. Und ich suchte besonders alle Hilfsmittel der Philologie zusammen, um in meiner Bibel mit eignen Augen sehen zu lernen. Und so war nun bei allem meinem fort-dauernden Glauben an die Grundartikel des Systems dennoch in mir der unerschütterliche Grund zum Unglauben gelegt und meine Bekehrung vollendet. Denn ein Mensch, der einmal erst entschlossen ist, die Kirchentheologie zu prüfen und auf den Probierstein der Vernunft und Philologie zu bringen, der kann, wenn er die nötigen Talente und Stetigkeit hat, bei dem Glauben nicht ausharren, der muß auf diesem Wege zuletzt ein Ungläubiger werden, d. h. es kann ihm am Ende der Untersuchung nichts als vernünftige Religion übrigbleiben, und der positive Kram muß ihm zuletzt wie Seifenblasen zerfliegen. --Doch, mein Weg war lang und meine Laufbahn mühsam! Erst in meinem vierzigsten Jahre habe ich sie geendet. (p. 149)

Bahrtdt's contention that everyone with sufficient intelligence who begins to doubt must end up an unbeliever can remain for us a moot point. And though he phrases it as a generalization, this statement is obviously a personal one. This personal tone belies the nineteenth-century critics' contention that Bahrtdt's religious convictions were entirely cynical and opportunistic. As Bahrtdt points out, his conversion to the Enlightenment was a gradual one. There was no sudden about-face for material gain. Also, as Flygt points out in a remark referred to previously (p. 208), it is unlikely that a completely unprincipled person would have written the Glaubensbekenntnis, the consequences of which

made life very difficult for the author and his family. But in attempting to force him to recant the authorities were demanding the impossible, for as Bahrtdt observed, in attacking the belief they impugn as well his powers of reason: "denn von einem ehrlichen Manne im Ernste verlangen, daß er seine subjektive Wahrheit, die ihm durch so vieljährige und gewissenhafte Prüfungen heilig und ehrwürdig geworden war, nicht mehr für Wahrheit erkennen und öffentlich wider seine Überzeugung für Irrtum ausgeben solle, würde ebensoviel heißen als verlangen, daß er wahnwitzig werden oder als ein schlechter Mensch handeln solle" (pp. 512-513).

On the basis of this and similar statements Flygt argues that at least in matters of religious belief Bahrtdt possessed a "hard core of integrity," which he defines as "a simple and unreflecting inability to act otherwise than according to the dictates of inner necessity, regardless of loss or advantage."⁴³ As even a cursory overview of Bahrtdt's life provides ample evidence that he was a very quarrelsome man, whether to designate his often vociferous defense of himself and his beliefs as 'integrity' or 'intransigence' is a matter best left to individual choice. But it seems probable that Bahrtdt, who did not affect a cool professional stance towards his theological beliefs, but felt his personal character to be closely associated with them, was incapable of dissemblance, at least in matters of religious doctrine.

Bahrtdt may not be guilty of complete unprincipledness in religion, but his personal conduct, as well as cavalier attitude toward truth in his autobiography, remain a different matter. In personal conduct, perhaps the most flagrant violation among many was Bahrtdt's siring of two illegitimate children and subsequent non-support, capped off for good measure by an attempt to attribute their paternity to a friend of his.⁴⁴ Even Flygt, who is often lenient in his judgement of Bahrtdt, has trouble excusing his conduct in this episode.⁴⁵ As far as truth in autobiography is concerned, a nineteenth-century writer described Bahrtdt's Geschichte seines Lebens as a work in which the author "sich an allen seinen Gegnern zu rächen suchte und seine Frau verunglimpfte, sich selbst aber ein Denkmal der Schande setzte."⁴⁶ Klaus-Detlef Müller, the most perceptive of Bahrtdt's few modern commentators, is scarcely kinder when he observes that the autobiography contains "bewußte Entstellungen, Verleumdungen und Tatsachenverdrehungen."⁴⁷ He is able to make this judgement by comparing Bahrtdt's presentation of the facts with knowledge from other sources, most of which are unavailable in North America.⁴⁸ In what follows, I will first provide a summary of Müller's conclusions regarding the important matter of how much distortion of truth is compatible with an autobiography's generic identity. Thereafter, I will offer some observations of my own regarding Bahrtdt's self-presentation.

"Bahrtdt lügt nicht im eigenen Namen."⁴⁹ This lapidary statement by Müller serves as a useful maxim, indicative of Bahrtdt's narrative strategy. Like a wily defendant who finds himself on the witness stand, Bahrtdt knows how to exploit certain facts while remaining silent about others, and to phrase his version convincingly, thus presenting himself in as favorable a light as possible. He is the first of the authors under consideration to make significant use of techniques learned from fiction. Bräker and Moritz, as we shall see, do so as well, but generally for the sake of vividness and immediacy in the narrative. But Bahrtdt, Müller argues, employs "die subjektiv-fiktionalisierende Erzählweise" more for utilitarian purposes than aesthetic ones. His aim is to persuade the reader of the truth of his version by presenting it convincingly--"Zweifel an der Wahrheit des Erzählten gar nicht erst aufkommen zu lassen," as Müller puts it.⁵⁰ His intention, in effect, is to get the receptive reader to do his lying for him, by steering him in the direction of false conclusions: "Die eigentlichen Momente des Fiktiven liegen bei ihm nicht in der Faktenerfindung, sondern in der akzentuierenden Verteilung der Erzählgewichte; sie zwingt dem Leser Perspektiven auf, deren Konsequenzen, wenn sie ausformuliert würden, auf Unwahrheiten hinausliefen, aber eben diese Ausformulierung unterbleibt."⁵¹

One example is Bahrtdt's presentation of a powerful opponent, Minister Philippe-Jacques Rühl of Leiningen-Dachsburg. After ob-

serving that Bahrdt's portrait of his adversary is largely untrue,⁵² Müller continues:

Die Art und Weise, wie Bährdt seinen Kontrahenten für sein Scheitern verantwortlich macht, verdient allerdings Beachtung. Denn er stellt ihn in einem ausführlichen Charakterporträt dar, das die hervorstechenden Eigenschaften, Eigenliebe und Herrschsucht, genetisch aus Rühls Herkunft und seiner Erziehung herleitet, seinen Menschenhaß als Folge erlittener Demütigungen begründet und seine Bosheit aus der Unzufriedenheit eines Überlegenen Geistes mit der Stellung als Minister eines Duodezfürsten erklärt....Das Porträt ist zwar zur Karikatur überzeichnet, indem es von außen die Selbsteinschätzung des Eitlen aus dessen eigener Sicht artikuliert, aber diese satirischen Züge stehen im Zusammenhang einer psychologischen und soziologischen Motivation, die die Figur des Sonderlings aus den gesellschaftlichen Realitäten der Zeit verständlich macht.⁵³

He is also capable of turning fictional techniques upon himself:

"Sein ausgeprägtes Selbstbewußtsein erlaubt es Bahrdt, die Jahre bis zur Berufung nach Erfurt im Rückblick aus ironischer und humoristischer Distanz zu schildern und den frühreifen Knaben, als der er sein Studium begann, und den forschenden Privatdozenten als komische Figur zu schildern."⁵⁴ Like Karl Philipp Moritz, though without the detailed description of psychological states, Bahrdt in the following passage ironically describes how he too was prey to an overactive imagination. — —

Man muß sich mich als einen Knaben denken,
dessen Phantasie an Bildern aus der wirklichen

Welt so arm war wie mein Beutel. Alles, was ich mir dachte, waren selbstgeschaffne Gestalten. Selbst das Mädchen, worauf ich Spekulation machte, war bloß Ideal. Ihre Miene, ihren Gang, ihre Kleidung, ihre Art, sich gegen einen Liebhaber zu benehmen, erdachte ich mir selbst....

Was konnte aus den Avantüren eines solchen unerfahrenen Knaben anders entstehen als Donquixotiaden, zumal da sich mit dieser Unerfahrenheit eine gewisse Hitze vergesellschaftete, mit welcher ich alles schnell durchsetzen wollte, was ich einmal begann?

Mein erster Ausritt, den ich wagte, ging zwar auf keine Windmühle los, aber gewiß auf einen weit kritischeren Gegenstand. Es war die Tochter des berühmten Hofrat Menke.... (pp. 74-75)

Despite the fictional elements, however, Müller argues convincingly that Bahrdt's book remains an autobiography, and does not flower into a "Roman seines Lebens" independent of the life lived. First, the intention of the work--to justify the life and opinions of the author to posterity⁵⁵--is characteristic of autobiography. Secondly, while admitting that there are occasional "Grenzüberschreitungen,"⁵⁶ because the author limits himself to the use of fanciful psychological projections and partial disclosure of facts rather than using wholly invented incidents to discredit those he dislikes, Bahrdt, Müller maintains, "bleibt...sich der strukturellen Möglichkeiten der Autobiographie bewußt."⁵⁷ Thirdly, a wealth of incidental detail is included to reinforce the impression of genuine experience.⁵⁸ In all, Müller concludes, "die Fiction geht aus der autobiographischen Erzählsituation und ihren Erfordernissen selbst hervor und bleibt

zugleich an sie gebunden."⁵⁹

It is a failing of Geschichte seines Lebens, at least from a modern point of view, that psychology for Bahrtdt is not a vehicle for self-exploration, but something to be turned upon adversaries, to whom various psychopathologies are attributed. In addition to Rühl's vindictive scheming, his wife's well-founded suspiciousness and jealousy are presented as aberrant, and referred to as "ihre Krankheit" (see pp. 250-251, p. 268). Bahrtdt, as befits a religious polemicist, is too convinced of his own righteousness to think of turning his psychologizing on himself and examining any underlying motives for his own actions. While capable, as Müller noted, of ironic detachment towards his former self, Bahrtdt does not attempt a psychological explanation of what made him so hyper-orthodox in his youth, but is content to poke fun at his earlier pretentiousness. Here he describes his feeling upon having been made a Magister.

Und nun war ichs! Ich wills nie vergessen, was für eine Seligkeit ich gefühlt habe, da ich das Auditorium verließ und auf der Gasse von den Leuten, in meinem gelehrten Anzuge daher schwänzend, besehen und von meinen Bekannten zum ersten Male Herr Magister gescholten wurde. Cicero hat so viel stille Himmelswonnen nicht empfunden, da er die Nachricht von Kati-linas Flucht erhielt, als ich empfand, da das kahle Herr oder wohl gar Musge Bahrtdt so plötzlich verbannet und ein Herr Magister an dessen Stelle getreten war. Wie oft sah ich diesen Tag nicht in meinem Spiegel! Wie oft blickte ich nach meinem Degen, ob er auch ge-

hörig folgte! Wie oft fragte ich das Gesinde etwas, um die Antwort zu hören: ja--nein--gleich--mein Herr Magister! (p. 127)

While Bräker and Moritz, as we shall see, are deeply influenced by Pietism, Bahrdt, "mit sicherem Gefühl für das Blasphemische,"⁶⁰ borrows only its vocabulary, and uses Pietist terminology to describe his turning away from religion. Thus the chapter headings "Erstes Licht" and "Meine Bekehrung oder Durchbruch des Lichts" (p. 131, p. 136) make ironic use of Pietist vocabulary, while simultaneously playing in a minor key on the imagery of light common as well to the Enlightenment. The conventional Pietist motif of rebirth is also ironically employed by Bahrdt, who calls himself "das neugeborene Kind der Aufklärung" (p. 137).

Compared to his sophisticated use of fanciful psychologies when misrepresenting opponents, Bahrdt's direct self-characterization is relatively straightforward. With his customary self-satisfaction, he sees himself as the most sanguine of men, a person who looks confidently--sometimes too confidently--to the future. Clearly Bahrdt intends his basic good humor, accompanied by a sometimes overactive imagination, to be his most fundamental character trait. In the course of a long passage dealing with character formation, Bahrdt tells us that his cheerfulness is natural, but that his youthful imagination was fueled by the tall tales of a servant, Ernst. As with Brandes and Moritz, mention of the novel readily comes to mind when describing his unrealis-

tic fantasies: "Ich war von Natur munter und zur Fröhlichkeit gestimmt, und hatte dabei einen unbegrenzten Hang, mit meiner Imagination in der Zukunft herumzuschweifen und mir angenehme Aussichten zu bilden. Der gute Ernst sah also bald, daß mir keine Gespräche interessanter waren, als wenn er mich mit Projekten unterhielt. Da war denn jeden Tag ein neuer Roman auf dem Tapet, in welchem der Held, an dessen Platze ich allemal mich selbst dachte,...allemal und ohne Schwierigkeiten glücklich wurde" (p. 30).

These two interrelated traits, here discussed in conjunction with each other, are mentioned separately elsewhere in the autobiography. Bahrtdt is particularly intent upon establishing his good humor, as it helps make anyone, particularly his wife who disturbs such cheerfulness, appear as a misanthropic killjoy. His sunny disposition is referred to variously as "meine erstaunliche Jovialität" (p. 32), "mein glückliches Temperament..., die herrschende Stimmung zur Fröhlichkeit" (p. 251). Of his favorite daughter he writes: "Sanfte Freude und stete Heiterkeit war ihr wie ihres Vaters Eigentum" (p. 291). After being banned from the Holy Roman Empire, Bahrtdt feels temporarily "ein wenig betäubt", but soon returns, he tells us, to "die volle Heiterkeit meines Geistes" (p. 522). He is deceived by an enemy only because "nach [s]einer leichtsinnigen Gutherzigkeit" (p. 519) Bahrtdt believes the falsehoods told him. He uses his good spirits as a tool against his wife, whose jealousy, as he presents it, is aroused by mere amiability: "Am meisten fühlte sie sich bekümmert durch

meine außerordentliche Freundlichkeit, mit der ich jeden Menschen anzusehen und zu begegnen gewohnt bin" (p. 255). Indeed, to live with such a querulous Xanthippe is quite a cross for even a cheerful man to bear: "...denn es war gerade für mein fröhliches Temperament dies die größte unter allen Martern, die mich treffen konnte, daß ich mit einer Gattin leben mußte, bei welcher ich einen unaufhörlichen Wechsel von lauten Klagen oder stillen Seufzern und nie, ganz eigentlich nie, einen Einklang für die Stimmung meiner fröhlichen Laune fand. Ich erfuhr die Wahrheit des Satzes, daß oft die zärtlichste Liebe die Quelle des größten Elends ist" (p. 425). Small wonder, considering the self-indulgent pathos of this statement, that Flygt notes, "Bahrtdt's own shortcomings are revealed in almost every line he writes about his marriage."⁶¹

Overactive imagination (Phantasie) is not given such prominence by Bahrtdt. This is probably so because he, like most Enlightenment authors, was distrustful of many aspects of the imagination. In Enlightenment terms an overactive imagination is a failing, and Bahrtdt is not inclined towards self-criticism. Phantasie is generally associated with deception, usually youthful self-deception, or less often with the deception involved in the wrong kind of religiosity. Of himself at the age when he begins to notice the opposite sex, Bahrtdt writes, in a passage previously referred to: "Man muß sich mich als einen Knaben denken, dessen Phantasie an Bildern aus der wirklichen Welt so arm war wie mein Beutel.

Alles, was ich mir dachte, waren selbstgeschaffne Gestalten" (p. 74). Or when dreaming about buying a horse (a virtual impossibility for a student on an allowance): "Was war natürlicher, als daß ich tausend Projekte machte zu diesem erhabenen Ziele, das meine Phantasie mir vorgesteckt hatte, zu gelangen?" (p. 86). When courting seriously Bahrdt's tempestuousness and inclination to picture things as he would like them almost lead him astray: "Langes Zaudern, Überlegen, Fragen und Forschen war meine Sache nicht. Meine Phantasie hatte schnell Schönheit und Geld aufgefaßt und es der Vernunft aufs Leben verboten mir ja nichts von Bedenklichkeiten und Schwierigkeiten einzuflüstern" (p. 243). Phantasie can also lead one astray intellectually and spiritually. Stories of ghosts and other apparitions are explained as "Täuschungen einer erhitzten Phantasie" (p. 108). And, when briefly under the influence of a former classmate who had fallen prey to a then-fashionable mode of religious sentimentality (Schwärmerei), Bahrdt writes: "Aber nun war mein Kopf in einer Art von Verrückung....Nun handelten von Stund an alle meine Predigten von Jesu, wo wie in meinem Herzen oder vielmehr in meiner Phantasie nichts war als Jesus und seine Wunden" (p. 161).

Bahrdt also refers repeatedly to two other characteristics, Dreistigkeit and Feuer. Of these two he seems almost embarrassed by the former, which is perhaps best rendered as audacity, for he attributes it to himself only during his orthodox period, while writing of which, as we have seen, he adopts a distanced,

ironic tone towards his former self. Doubtless his intention is to discredit the orthodox camp by showing how much success was possible for him simply through sheer bluff. After some early successes he comments: "Mein Gewinn wars, daß von dieser Zeit an meine Beherztheit und Dreistigkeit auf den höchsten Grad stieg. Dies Gelingen des ersten Versuches mit einem öffentlichen Auftritte schien mir Beweis, daß ich zu allem fähig sei" (p. 115). Speaking of the reasons why at first he was thought a very promising figure in Leipzig, he writes: "Erstlich tat meine ganz außerordentliche Dreistigkeit, die ich fast Frechheit nennen möchte, der großen Meinung Vorschub, die sich von mir verbreitet hatte" (p. 122). His audaciousness helps him pull the wool over the eyes of slow-witted orthodox examiners: "Ich erwarb mir ein paarmal ein bene und egregie auf eine recht lächerliche Art, indem ich zu Bedeutungen griechischer Worte, von denen die Rede war, mit meiner gewöhnlichen Dreistigkeit ein paar Stellen aus dem Homer und Plutarch allegierte, ohne sie je da gefunden zu haben, bloß in der Voraussetzung daß er doch nicht nachschlagen und mich auf der Täuschung ertappen konnte" (pp. 151-152). He explains the poor reception of his first polemical writings: "Ich war ein junger Mann und empörte mein Publikum schon durch den dreisten Ton, den ich angestimmt hatte" (p. 231), and also mentions that "Dreistigkeit" (p. 237) was helpful to him in his first courtship attempts. After this dreist and its nominal form, which occur prominently and with relative frequency during the narration of his time in Leipzig and Erfurt, disappear from view,

and are not used to apply to him in the rest of the work.

Feuer, for which Langenscheidt gives 'spirit' or 'mettle' as proper translations in connection with temperament, likewise appears most often during the account of his youth, but it does not appear in such negative contexts, and does not disappear entirely in the later stages of the life story. Bahrdt asserts that he was known "als ein feuriger junger Mensch" "von Jugend auf" (p. 85), and mentions "mein natürliches Feuer" (p. 111), and at a more advanced age emphasizes "das nicht sehr große Feuer meines Temperaments" (p. 269). He indicates that this characteristic helps establish him as a successful lecturer: "Nun eben hatte ich durch meine Vorlesungen mir einige Reputation erworben, welche ich damals gewiß nicht der Güte des Inhalts, sondern bloß dem Feuer meines einnehmenden Vortrags verdanken mußte..." (p. 154). It also helps him throw himself into his polemics: "Mit Lust und Feuer arbeitete ich auf meiner Studierstube, stolz, wenn die Schweißtropfen mir unter den Armen herab auf meine Lenden fielen..." (p. 293). According to Bahrdt, his mettle and spirit are also pleasing to the ladies. Of a woman he courted briefly he writes, "Und sie hatte...ihre Neigung, einem feurigen jungen Mann von meinem Schlage ihre Hand zu schenken, nicht undeutlich merken lassen" (p. 237). Needless to say, there is only one woman whom this trait could displease: his wife, the hapless victim of "ihre Phantasie," is distrustful of Bahrdt's "Feuer im gesellschaftlichen Leben," and perceives the woman her husband meets "als die

verschlagensten Buhlerinnen" (p. 424). Returning to the realm of public affairs, Bahrdt tells the reader of his ceaseless struggle against benighted theologians: "Indessen, mein unruhiger Geist rastete nicht. Meine Begierde, Priester und Theologen in ihren Verschanzungen zu zerstören, war zu feurig" (p. 288). He also has a friend inform von Salis, his employer at the Philanthropin in Switzerland, "Ja, der Bahrdt ist ein berühmter Mann, ein würdiger Mann, voll Feuer und Kraft..." (p. 302). And to emphasize his courage in a one-to-one confrontation with the Prince of Leiningen-Dachsburg, he writes: "Mit dem feurigsten Blicke trat ich ihm unter die Augen, und mit dem männlichsten und entschlossensten Tone verlangte ich, daß er gerecht sein und auch mich erst hören möchte, ehe er ein Urtheil über mich fälle" (pp. 390-391).

In general we may conclude that Bahrdt's presentation of the self is somewhat self-congratulatory and superficial. His most sophisticated psychologizing, we recall, was expended on adversaries, for whom he contrives largely fictitious but convincing patterns of motive and action. Bahrdt views himself as an essentially good-natured if somewhat high-spirited individual. As we have seen, he does not delve much into his own psychology, and in self-characterization limits himself to a few leading traits, most notably his glückliches Temperament and his Feuer. But despite this relative simplicity, we have moved beyond Laukhard, Maimon, and Seume, all of whom dwell on a single aspect of character--namely, the aspect of Vernunft which was most important to

them. Bahrddt also has his two main characteristics accompanied by minor ones--glückliches Temperament by an excess of Phantasie, and Feuer by the negative Dreistigkeit. A modest beginning perhaps, but we detect a movement towards the more complex presentation of the self which we will encounter in Bräker and Moritz.

Ulrich Bräker. Lebensgeschichte und natürliche Ebentheuer des Armen Mannes im Tockenburg

Ulrich Bräker was born in 1735 in Näbis, a hamlet near the town of Wattwil in the Toggenburg valley of the Swiss canton of St. Gallen. He was the eldest of eight children. His father was a poor farmer with a penchant for Pietist literature, and who wished to raise his children "wo sie vor der Verführung der Welt sicher wären."⁶² Bräker spent his earliest years as a goatherd on his father's isolated farm. But in 1754 debt forced the family to leave the countryside and settle in Wattwil and the eighteen-year old Ulrich was briefly put to work as a day-laborer for a craftsman, and later worked as a saltpeter-maker for his father. During this period in Wattwil he was attracted to the daughter of a tavernkeeper, and this youthful love for "Aennchen" figures prominently in the Lebensgeschichte. In 1755 he was sent to Schaffhausen, where he first became the servant of a Prussian recruiting officer. But when he followed his master to Berlin he found himself no longer a servant but a conscript. The big city and the brutality of the soldier's life was quite a shock for a

lad from the hinterlands, and despite having been forced to witness the bestial cruelties perpetrated upon disloyal soldiers, he himself deserted when first put into the field during the battle of Lobositz (October 1, 1756). This episode in Bräker's life has been dramatized by the East German playwright Peter Hacks in Die Schlacht bei Lobositz (1957).⁶³ After the battle Bräker fell into the hands of the Austrians, but was allowed to return to Switzerland, and was reunited with his astonished family--who at first did not recognize him in a foreign uniform--less than a month after slipping from the lines. With this the "natürliche Ebentheuer" of Ulrich Bräker were more or less at an end, for the outward events of his life from this time on followed conventional patterns.

Upon his return from "die große Welt" Bräker did not want to remain a humble saltpeter-maker, particularly as his prospective bride wanted a "Kaufmann," rather than a laborer, for a husband. She also was intent upon a homeowner, so before they were married a house was built, despite the risk of considerable debt. Bräker's married life began in 1761, and although it produced seven children the marriage was not a happy one. His wife, Salome, who was domineering and completely illiterate, resented bitterly time spent reading and writing instead of on 'useful work.' Bräker's immediate social environment of neighbors and acquaintances, he tells us, "sahen mich... überzwerch an" (I, p.

270), when they learned he had become a member of a reading society.

Despite this resistance from his wife and social peers, Bräker refused to forsake his intellectual pursuits. In 1768 he began a diary, which he continued until the end of his life. From these diaries it is clear that his thought remained influenced primarily by Pietism until the year 1774.⁶⁴ Characteristic for this period is a 1769 diary entry entitled "Über das Lesen," in which he warns his children "vor...heidnischen, ja teuflischen Büchern," among which he includes "romansche erdichtete Liebesgeschichten, Hurengeschichten, Liebes- oder Hurenlieder, alle erlogne gottlosen Erzählungen und Erdichtungen..." (II, p. 140). He admits that there also exist books such as "Geschichtsbücher, geographische, Weltbeschreibungen, Helden-, Staats- und Lebensbeschreibungen" which are "minder schädlich," but on the other hand "zur Seligkeit nicht notwendig" (II, pp. 140-141). The emphasis is clearly on religious writing: "Billich soll die h. Schrift das erste und fürnehmste Buch sein, welches wir zu allererst fleißig lesen und betrachten sollen, ja es soll uns sein wie das tägliche Brot auf unserem Tisch" (II, p. 142). Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to assume that Bräker wholly spurned secular literature even during this period. For he admits: "Ich bin zwar immer ein großer Liebhaber der Bücher gewesen; jedoch hab ich die schlimmen verabscheuet und gehaßt, hingegen die guten geliebet. Nicht daß

ich mich mit eitlen und nichtswürdigen Büchern nicht auch schon vergaffet hätte" (II, p. 139).

After 1774 Bräker's emphasis shifted from religious writing to more worldly literature, though he never entirely abandoned his Pietist convictions. In 1776 he joined the Societas moralis Tog-gica, a reading society with an up-to-date library reflecting Enlightenment tastes. Bräker's wife, predictably, "speyte Feuer und Flammen" (I, p. 270) upon learning of her husband's election to the society. In the time between becoming a member of the moralische Gesellschaft (1776) and the publication of his autobiography (1788), Bräker read such authors as Gessner, Hermes, Lavater, Goldsmith and Smollett, to name only a few of the better-known.⁶⁵ In the late 1770s he became acquainted with Shakespeare in Eschenburg's prose translation. The fruit of his readings was the only work of his besides the autobiography still known today, "Etwas über William Shakespeares Schauspiele" (1780), in which Bräker offers short discussions of more than thirty of Shakespeare's plays. The Lebensgeschichte itself was written between 1781 and 1785, and first published in the periodical Schweizermuseum in 1788-1789. Reader response was enthusiastic enough to warrant a book version in 1789. But an attempt to repeat this success by publishing some of the Tagebücher was a failure, and nothing more was published in Bräker's lifetime. (The Shakespeare essays first appeared in 1877.) Bräker's last years were clouded by debt and dishonor: one son-

in-law's business failed, taking much of Bräker's capital with it, and a daughter and another son-in-law were implicated in a theft--a turn of events particularly trying for a man of strict religious upbringing. He died in 1798.

For a considerable time Bräker was largely neglected by literary historians and critics. The autobiography was edited and reprinted once during the nineteenth century and once shortly thereafter.⁶⁶ In his historical survey Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit (1859-67), Gustav Freytag included an excerpt from Bräker's description of his experiences in Prussian service, as an antidote to the usual nineteenth-century hero-worship of Frederick the Great.⁶⁷ But Bräker is entirely disregarded by the most famous nineteenth-century literary historians, Gervinus, Scherer and Hettner, although he is mentioned briefly by one of the less well-known ones, Heinrich Kurz.⁶⁸ Modern research on Bräker begins with Samuel Voellmy's Ulrich Bräker, der arme Mann im Tockenburg. Ein Kultur- und Charakterbild aus dem XVIII. Jahrhundert (Bern: Seldwyla Verlag, 1923). Voellmy is also the editor of the three-volume Leben und Schriften Ulrich Bräkers (Basel: Verlag Birkenhäuser, 1945), which remains the most comprehensive edition. While Voellmy succeeded in bringing the Swiss autobiographer to the attention of the reading public, some of this attention was not the kind Voellmy had probably hoped for. In 1930 Fritz Ernst, a professor of German literature at the University of Zürich, delivered the following judgement on Bräker: "Er ist

ein Prototyp jener Flüchtlinge aus der realen in die ideale Welt, wo ihres Bleibens aber selten ist. An ihm fraß ein unheilvolles Übel: die Verbildung. Sie vor allem war es, die ihn zwischen Erde und Himmel jämmerlich zugrunde gehen ließ."⁶⁹

More recent critics have not judged so harshly. Klaus-Detlef Müller, in his study Autobiographie und Roman (1976), does not deny the escapist element in Bräker's literary pursuits, but notes that there are other aspects to be considered as well: "...das Schreiben war Flucht, Kommunikation, Selbstverständigung, Selbstrechtfertigung und Verklärung der eigenen Vergangenheit zugleich."⁷⁰ Walter Hinderer, in his article on Bräker in Deutsche Dichter des 18ten Jahrhunderts, praised his "Kunst der Vergegenwärtigung,"⁷¹ and Werner Günther, editor of the Reclam edition of the Lebensgeschichte, praised his creative spontaneity: "Denn das Urtümlichste, Dichterischste an ihm ist zweifellos seine offene, derbe, sprudelnd witzige, echt volkstümliche Wirklichkeitsfreude."⁷² However, Marxist interpreters, concentrating predictably on portrayal of social conditions rather than descriptive power, have been less generous, and condemn Bräker's understanding of his society as insufficient. For example, Hans Mayer writes: "Bräker...erkennt nicht, daß er nun [as a middleman in the textile trade] in einen großen ökonomischen Umschichtungsprozeß eingegliedert wurde, der die bäuerlichen Verhältnisse in kapitalistische verwandelte."⁷³ In the foreword to an East German edition of the autobiography, Hans-Günther Thalheim cri-

ticizes Bräker's inadequate comprehension of the French Revolution: "Er durchschaut den Despotismus nicht als reaktionäres Gesellschaftssystem, hält sich an Erscheinungen tyrannischer Entartung; der soziale Charakter der Revolution, ihre objektiven Widersprüche und Grundlagen bleiben unerkannt, die Revolution ist lediglich ein Akt erlaubter Notwehr gegen allzu starken feudalen Druck."⁷⁴ Nevertheless, he argues later that the Lebensgeschichte des Armen Mannes im Toggenburg is "objektiv ein Protest gegen die bestehende Gesellschaftsordnung."⁷⁵ In the West some critics, rather than concerning themselves with Bräker's social criticism or the lack of it, have been at pains to stress how he never strays too far from his Pietist roots, despite the influence of the Enlightenment during his later years. Derek Bowman, in the introduction to his English translation of the autobiography (The Life Story and Real Adventures of the Poor Man of Toggenburg [Edinburgh: University Press, 1970]), writes that Bräker always considered himself a "child of God," and mentions "the still basic staunchness of his Christianity," and the "basically Christian sense of responsibility" which underlies the work.⁷⁶ In a similar vein Voellmy writes, "Geblieden ist ihm eine demütige Hingabe als Christ an die Gnade und eine innige Gottesliebe."⁷⁷

The most recent flurry of interest in Bräker was occasioned by the two-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of his birth on December 22, 1985. Several newspaper articles appeared at this time

to remind readers of Bräker's modest but assured place in the history of German letters,⁷⁸ and the publication of three books on Bräker in 1985 was obviously planned to coincide with the anniversary.⁷⁹ In the most extensive of the newspaper articles Bräker was cast as a model of Swiss moderation and circumspection: "Der Geist der Helvetischen Gesellschaft durchweht sein Gedankengut...Bräker schätzte politische Freiheit, Besonnenheit, Toleranz und Harmonie über alles. Die Partei der Mitte ist immer die vernünftigste, hielt er einmal bündig fest. Konfessionelle Fanatiker waren ihm ebenso verhaßt wie Jakobiner, die ärgsten Despoten."⁸⁰

From this brief survey of the criticism one sees clearly that Bräker can be different things to different people: despite his limitations a bit of social critic to the Marxists, a Christian to the believers, a man of moderation to the diplomat.⁸¹ This is not surprising, for to a greater extent than our other autobiographers (with the possible exception of Moritz), Bräker is a transitional figure, an individual in whom varied elements of eighteenth-century thought converge. Thus the Marxist can find passages which sound close to modern social criticism, the Christian can find passages in praise of God, and so on. As we might expect, these elements do not combine harmoniously. The conflict is primarily between Bräker's Pietist roots and Enlightenment-influenced self-education. Because of the extreme isolation of his childhood and the relative isolation of his adult life (he

must travel to visit the kindred souls of the moralische Gesellschaft; they seldom come to him), Bräker's Pietist faith stays with him all his life. By contrast, for Karl Philipp Moritz, who enjoyed more schooling at an early age, as well as a university education and an urban environment, Pietism cultivated his powers of self-observation but did not remain an active faith in adult life. Many critics have called attention to "die Widersprüche und Zwiespältigkeit seines [Bräker's] Weltbildes und mithin auch seines literarischen Schaffens,"⁸² "sein widerspruchsvoller Charakter,"⁸³ and Werner Günther has made the perceptive observation that these contradictions are more apparent to the reader than they were to the author: "Tiefer greift der Widerspruch in ihm zwischen Pietismus und Aufklärung: seinen herrnhutischen, schon als Kind aufgenommenen Glaubensgefühlen blieb er zeitlebens treu und wuchs doch, fast unvermerkt, in so viele aufklärerische Ideen hinein--in diesen Zwiespältigkeiten verfängt sich aber der Leser seiner Schriften mehr als er selber."⁸⁴ One example of unresolved conflict in Bräker's mind between reason and religion is that at times his fortunes in the world are presented in secular terms, as a matter of interaction of character and environment, and at others as dependent upon divine will: at one point he writes that "Glück and Unglück" arranged themselves "theils nach meinem Verhalten, das in meiner Macht stuhnd, theils nach den Zeitumständen, die ich nicht ändern konnte" (I, p. 286). But elsewhere he maintains that things do not go according to "jemands Wollen oder Laufen," but

are rather a matter of "Gottes Verhängniß" (I, p. 253).

This conflict between traditional and progressive elements informs not only the content of Bräker's autobiography but its form as well. Upon first impression, the Lebensgeschichte appears unsophisticated and carelessly written. Bräker reinforces this impression by repeatedly referring to what he has written as "das Gickel Gackel meiner bisher erzählten Geschichte" (I, p. 290), "das kuderwelsche Ding" (I, p. 292), and concluding the autobiography with the words, "Es ist ein Wirrwarr--aber eben meine Geschichte" (I, p. 337). Thus the East German critic Hans-Günther Thalheim concludes that the Lebensgeschichte is too much like a diary to be considered a successful autobiography: "So vermochte Bräker die Form der Autobiographie nicht voll zu meistern und blieb noch stark vom Tagebuch abhängig."⁸⁵

However, another critic, Ralph-Rainer Wuthenow, has pointed out that perhaps Bräker is being disingenuous, and that these claims of artlessness should perhaps not be taken at face value: "das Geständnis...von Einfalt und planlosem Denken klingt doch ein wenig kokett; wir würden es einem Peter Prosch,...sehr viel eher abnehmen."⁸⁶ Elsewhere he comments: "es ist naiv, diesen Erzähler für naiv zu halten,..."⁸⁷

An aspect of Bräker's autobiography which tempts one to read it 'naively' is his employment of the rhetoric of the old-fashioned

family chronicle. In his foreword, Bräker states that he is writing firstly in praise of God, and "zweytens meiner Kinder wegen" (I, p. 71). Later on he addresses each of his children individually (I, pp. 327-330), and a postscript (Anhang), added for the book edition of 1788, ends with a "Schreiben an meinen Sohn" (I, pp. 364-65). This material, along with chapter headings such as "Zwey Jahre," "Und abermals zwey Jahre," and "Nun gar fünf Jahre," gives the appearance of a family chronicle which owes much to the author's diary, and has few literary pretensions.

But instead of condemning the entire Lebensgeschichte as "stark vom Tagebuch abhängig" as Thalheim does, more perceptive critics of Bräker's autobiography have recognized that the work consists of two relatively distinct parts. Klaus-Detlef Müller speaks of "eine Zweiteilung des Lebens mit dem Einschnitt des Eheversprechens," and observes, "vom Zeitpunkt der Heirat an wird die Erzählung durch eine Art Chronik abgelöst."⁸⁸ Bräker himself is aware that he is handling the later events of his life more fleetingly: "Daß ich in meiner obigen Geschichte über die allerernsthaftesten Scenen meines Lebens--Wie ich an meine Dulcinea kam--ein eigen Haus baute--einen Gewerb anfieng, u.s.f. so kurz hinweggeschlüpft, kömmt wahrscheinlich daher, daß diese Epoche meines Daseyns mir unendlich weniger Vergnügen als meine jüngern Jahre gewährten, und darum auch weit früher aus meinem Gedächtniß entwichen sind" (I, p. 305). As for many other people, for Bräker the events of childhood seem more memorable than those of

adult life: "Überhaupt verträdelte ich diese Sechzigerjahre, daß ich nicht recht sagen kann, wie? und so, daß sie meinem Gedächtniß weit entfernter sind als die entferntesten Jugendjahre" (I, p. 249). Thus it seems justifiable when Müller writes: "Bräker schreibt...aus einem Zustand bewußt erlittener Selbstentfremdung in einem als ereignislos-gleichförmig erlebten Dasein, das wegen seiner Perspektivenlosigkeit schon als weitgehend erschlossen gelten kann und in dem die verklärende Erinnerung an die Jugend die einzige Möglichkeit einer Identifikation bietet."⁸⁹ Bräker himself underscores this when he rhapsodizes about the "süße, süße Wollust, in diese seligen Tage der Unschuld zurückzugehn" (I, p. 136), and how he thinks of his childhood and adolescence "mit allzusüßer Rückerinnerung" (I, p. 296). Like Müller, Günter Niggel has recognized the differences between the early and later parts of the narration, and divides the autobiography in approximately the same place: "mit Kap. 65 [directly after Bräker's marriage] beginnt der annalistische Teil, äußerlich an den Kapitelüberschriften erkennbar, aber auch in Aufbau und Darstellungsweise...von der bisherigen Erzählung unterschieden."⁹⁰ Thus, on the basis of the statements of these critics and those of Bräker himself, we may divide the Lebensgeschichte into two relatively distinct entities: the story of his life up to his marriage, which is narrated with relative fullness and which employs some literary devices, and then the spare, chronicle-style account of the rest of his life. These two parts of the autobiography will be examined in turn.

Let us examine how Bräker presents his earlier self in the first part of his narration. Bräker's account of his childhood, his love affair with "Aennchen," and his Prussian service comprise the 'novelistic,' (i.e., literarily structured) part of the autobiography, as Müller has pointed out.⁹¹ We will deal with these three episodes in chronological order. Critical opinions differ regarding Bräker's presentation of his childhood. Niggel refers to "die Hirtenidyllen seiner Kindheit."⁹² Müller, on the other hand, states, "Das Vergnügen an der Erinnerung führt nicht dazu, daß die Kindheit zum Idyll verklärt wird...."⁹³ I think it is fair to say that Bräker's description of his childhood, particularly of his years as a goatherd, is at times given idyllic overtones but on the whole is not idealized. In the following passage, for example, Bräker presents himself very much as a child of nature in harmony with his surroundings.

Und welch Vergnügen macht mir nicht jeder Tag,
jeder neue Morgen; wenn jetzt die Sonne die
Hügel vergoldete, denen ich mit meiner Heerde
entgegenstieg; dann jenen haldigen Buchenwald,
und endlich die Wiesen und Waldplätze be-
schien. Tausendmal denk' ich dran; und oft
dünkt's mich, die Sonne scheine jetzt nicht
mehr so schön. Wann dann alle anliegenden Ge-
büsche von jubilirenden Vögeln ertönten, und
dieselben um mich her hüpfen--O! Was fühlt'
ich da! --Ha, ich weiß es nicht! --Halt süsse,
süsse Lust! Da trillerte ich dann mit, bis ich
heiser ward. Ein andermal spürte ich diesen
mutern Waldbürgern durch alle Stauden nach,
ergötzte mich an ihrem hübschen Gefieder, und
wünschte, daß sie nur halb so zahm wären wie
meine Geissen; beguckte ihre Jungen und ihre
Eyer, und erstaunte über den wundervollen Bau
ihrer Nester...Das war mir eine Wonne, und

fast mein einziges Sinn und Denken, alle Tage
gewiß einmal nach allen zu sehn; wie die
Jungen wuchsen, wie das Gefieder zunahm, wie
die Alten sie fütterten, u.d.g. (I. pp. 96-97)

However, Bräker makes a point of not presenting his goatherd days as ones of uninterrupted communion with nature. The account of this time is divided into chapters which counterbalance each other. "Vergnügen im Hirtenstand," from which the previous quotation was taken, is immediately followed by "Verdruß und Unge-
mach," which details the less appealing aspects of the herder's life. A true idyll depicts at least a temporary retreat from conventional reality, whereas Bräker's narration of his childhood remains within its social context: "das ländlich naturverbundene Dasein und das sehr intensive Naturerlebnis ist an den Hintergrund von Armut, Not und harter Arbeit gebunden."⁹⁴ Nevertheless, when after a period of association with some older, rather vulgar, shepherd boys his herder's days end, this is presented as a personal loss of innocence. Bräker writes that he no longer enjoyed "meine vorige Fröhlichkeit und Gemütsruhe. Die Kerls hatten Leidenschaften in mir rege gemacht, die ich noch selbst nicht kannte--und doch merkte, daß es nicht richtig stuhnd" (I, p. 106).

This mention of Leidenschaften may have been intended as a transition to the story of Aennchen, which is the next major episode. It is a conventional but quite vividly rendered account of a

naive boy's first love, for whom being favored by a pretty girl becomes a sign of God's grace: "Himmel und Erde müß' Einem gut seyn, der so ein holdes Mädchen zur Seite hat" (I, p. 131). In Müller's opinion, Bräker's use of irony and literary techniques in this episode is an important reason for classifying this as a literary autobiography.

Diese Episode ist durch eine ausgeprägte Selbstironie zu einer in sich geschlossenen genrehaften Handlung vom einfältig-schüchternen Liebhaber und dem raffiniert-koketten Mädchen gestaltet, wobei die Vergegenwärtigung im kunstvoll auf das Wesentliche verkürzten Dialog und in der souveränen Ironisierung der naiven Emotion geschieht. Die Selbstironie ist ein genuin autobiographisches Mittel, da sie die durch die Lebenserfahrung begründete Distanz des erzählenden vom erzählten Ich veranschaulicht; sie ermöglicht aber erst die romanhafte Stilisierung des Vorgangs zur Genreszene von zugleich individueller und überindividueller Bedeutsamkeit, d.h. zu einer in den Lebensvorgängen selbst begründeten Symbolik, die erst im Erzählen realisiert wird. In dieser Aufhebung des Subjektiven durch seine konsequente Realisierung liegt wohl die entscheidendste Legitimation dafür, diese Autobiographie als literarische zu verstehen.

The account of Bräker's Prussian service is shaped to emphasize first the farmboy's credulity and the betrayal of his trust, and then later his quick adaptation of a more worldly-wise outlook. The perspective of the narrated self is maintained throughout the episode, and effectively conveys first his gullibility, then subsequently his new-found hardheadedness. At one point another boy tries to warn him of what is in store for him: "'Wart' nur, bis

d' einmal in Preussen bist; da mußst Soldat seyn, und dir den Buckel braun und blau gerben lassen. Um tausend Thaler möcht' ich nicht in deiner Haut stecken'" (I, p. 163). When Bräker reports this conversation to his master, the latter replies:

'Ollrich, Ollrich! Du mußt nicht so einem jeden Narrn und Flegel dein Ohr geben. Ja! es ist wahr, ein Preußischer Offizier bin ich-- und was ist's denn?--von Geburth ein Pohlischer Edelmann; und damit ich dir alles auf die Nase binde, heiß' ich Johann Markoni.... Uebrigens sey nur getrost und guten Muths, dir soll's, bey Edelmanns Parole! nie fehlen, wenn du anderst ein wackrer Bursche bleibst. Soldat solltest werden? Nein! bey meiner Seel' nicht! Ich konnt' dich ja haben; um ein Paar schlichtige Louisd'or wollten deine beyden saubern Landsleuth' dich verkaufen. Aber du warst mir dazu etwas zu kurz, von deiner Länge nimmt man noch keinen an, und ich behielt dir was besseres vor. (I, pp. 163-164)

After this, Bräker writes, "ich glaubte von nun an ihm alles, wie ein Evangelium" (I, p. 164). Even after being conscripted against his will, when he goes to Markoni's quarters to berate him for his betrayal, Bräker comes away feeling "als ob ich mit meinem Vater geredet hätte" (I, p. 191), presumably because the officer had acted solicitously towards him, and hinted at the possibility of desertion.

For a backward country boy who might be expected to conform humbly to the wishes of authority, even authority which is forced upon him illegally, Bräker demonstrates considerable alacrity and

little remorse in opting for desertion. His laconic justification, "denn was gehen mich eure Kriege an?" (I, p. 207), has been adopted as the title of a recent anthology of some of Bräker's writings.⁹⁶ The narration of his swearing-in ceremony is written in a way which demonstrates his complete alienation ("Ich regte mein Maul nicht--dachte dafür was ich gern wollte-- ich glaube an Aennchen" [I, p. 186]) from the proceedings. The narrator does not apologize for the actions of the narrated self. Rather, upon looking back, he remains "wohl zufrieden mit meinem damaligen Ich" (I, p. 171). If anything he was too virtuous: "Damals war ich ein guter Bursch' ohne Falsch--vielleicht für die arge Welt nur gar zu redlich" (I, p. 171). In the stages of life discussed so far Bräker has presented himself as a sort of *Candide*: he is more naive than the older goatherds, than his Aennchen, and of course more so than Leutnant Markoni. And from each of these figures he learns something of the ways of the world.

If in these major narrative episodes Bräker presents his former self primarily as naive, other traits emerge through direct characterization. Not surprisingly, the reader encounters the common youthful shortcoming of Leichtsinn. Looking back upon his early years, he remarks: "Schon mehrmals hab' ich bemerkt, wie ich in meiner Bubenhaut ein lustiger, leichtsinniger, kummer- und sorgenloser Junge war..." (I, p. 249). When he is leaving home for the first time his father admonishes him: "Was mir am meisten Mühe mach, Uli! ist dein Leichtsinn" (I, p. 149). Another time

Bräker himself admits that he was "ein leichtsinniger Bube, wie's je einen gab" (I, p. 89). Nor does he confine this trait to his youth. Later, in his adult life, he explains a tendency towards over-optimism as "eine Folge meines angebohrenen Leichtsinns" (I, p. 255).

The imagination is another aspect of character dealt with primarily through direct commentary. Like many of the other authors examined in this study, Bräker views the imaginative faculty rather critically. In contrast to Anton-Reiser, an active imagination is not a significant aspect of the youthful self Bräker presents to the reader in the three narrative episodes. "Fantaseyen" are mentioned only once (I, p. 114), and in a context which has nothing to do with a Reiser-like displacement of the real world by an imagined one. With Bräker such a tendency appears only after the beginning of his unhappy marriage, and he describes his behavior in terms which indicate that he is aware that the world of books is an escape.

Vor meinem Ehstand bildete ich mir ein, wenn ich nur erst meine Frau und eigen Haus und Heimath hätte, würden alle andern Begierden und Leidenschaften, wie Schuppen, von meinem Herzen fallen. Aber, Potz Tausend! welch' eine Rebellion gab's nicht da. Lange Zeit wendete ich jeden Augenblick, den ich nur immer entbehren--aber eben bald auch manchen den ich nicht entbehren konnte, auf's Lesen an; schnappte jedes Buch auf, das mir nur zu erhaschen stuhnd.... (I, pp. 249-250)

Regarding the escapist strategies described by Moritz and Bräker, Müller observes: "Der Fluchtvorgang entspricht dem des 'Anton Reiser,' nur bleibt er als Flucht bewußt."⁹⁷ He might also have added that within Bräker's autobiographic narrative the negative aspects of an over-active imagination come to the fore only during adulthood. Also Bräker, unlike Reiser, is never in danger of confusing fantasy and reality. He may lament his tendency "in süßen Träumen spanische Schlösser zu bauen" (I, p. 273), but he is always aware of their imaginary nature.

Through direct self-characterization Bräker also presents himself as a man buffeted by strong passions. (Sensuality is rather muted in the Aennchen episode, which is rendered as an innocent first love.) Indeed, it is by characterizing himself as hot-blooded and tempestuous that Bräker begins his presentation of the self. In the chapter "Mein Geburtstag," he writes that he was the product of "die erste Kraft meines Vaters" (I, p. 75), and goes on to say: "Er war ein hitziger Mann, voll warmen Blutes. O ich habe schon tausendmal darüber nachgedacht, und mir bisweilen einen andern Ursprung gewünscht, wenn flammende Leidenschaften in meinen Busen tobten, und ich den heftigsten Kampf mit ihnen bestehen mußte" (I, p. 76). Later, natural impulses conflict with his Pietist upbringing: "Jetzt kamen mir die bösen Neigungen in meinem Busen abscheulich vor, und machten mir angst und bang. Ich betete, rang die Hände, sah zum Himmel, bis mir die hellen Thränen über die Backen rollten; faßte einen Vorsatz über den andern, und

macht mir so strenge Pläne für ein künftiges frommes Leben, daß ich darüber allen Frohmuth verlor" (I, pp. 106-107). Elsewhere he mentions that the advice of a preacher helps him in his "Scharmützel mit meinen Leidenschaften" (I, p. 115). Another time he exclaims, "Ja! Ja! wenn das sinnliche Vergnügen nicht so anziehend wäre" (I, p. 230). Despite not being particularly attracted to Salome Ambühl, he marries her anyway, because he has come to understand, he informs us, "daß ich nicht bloß meiner Sinnlichkeit folgen sollte" (I, p. 234).

If one compares the picture of the self given in the narration with the statements of direct self-characterization, it becomes clear that they are somewhat different. The narrative episodes emphasize the young Bräker's innocence, credulity, and naiveté, whereas the direct self-characterization, while confirming that a related aspect is part of the personality (Leichtsinn), is also intended to reveal other facets of character. Perhaps the most important is the strong subcurrent of sensuality. The emergence in adult life of escapist tendencies of the imagination is also outlined.

The later, chronicle-like chapters of the autobiography are at times superficial, often concerning themselves more with the economic vagaries of Bräker's age than with a depiction of his inner life. Occasionally Bräker seems bored with his own story. "So verstrich ein Jahr nach dem andern" (I, p. 266), he writes

at one point. However, a notable exception to this type of reportage is found in the long chapter, Meine Geständnisse, the title of which of course echoes Rousseau.⁹⁸ Here Bräker offers a summing up of his life, and particularly as this chapter has received relatively little critical attention, it will be worthwhile to take a close look at it, and examine what aspects of character Bräker chooses to dwell upon in this final act of self-analysis.

As Bräker's 'confessions' are for the most part expository prose rather than narration of events, it is not surprising that they reiterate and amplify the aspects of personality brought out in direct self-characterization. Leichtsinn receives little attention, but sensuality and imagination are emphasized. In the opening passage of the Geständnisse, the first thing Bräker explains to his descendants is that he is a man "der alle seine Tage mit heftigen Leidenschaften zu kämpfen hatte" (I, p. 293). Shortly thereafter he refers to "mein von Natur tobendes Temperament, und eine Einbildungskraft, welche mir nicht nur den ganzen Tag über keine Minute Ruhe ließ, sondern mich auch des Nachts verfolgte..." (I, p. 294). In the following analysis we will trace first Bräker's presentation of sensuality, and then that of the imagination.

In his discussion of sensuality Bräker takes pains to establish that as a young man he was attractive to the opposite sex. He

finds that his time in the military helped him present himself positively: "Mein Aeusseres hatte sich ziemlich verschönert. Ich ging nicht mehr so läppisch daher, sondern hübsch gerade" (I, p. 300). As if to emphasize his attractiveness, the only substantial narration within the Geständnisse is the revelation of another youthful affair of the heart, which he had omitted from the previous account of his early years (I, pp. 302-304). He regrets that he did not marry a richer woman: "...wenn ich's nur ein wenig pfiffiger und politischer angefangen, hätt' es mir mit einer ziemlich reichen Rosina geglückt, wie ich nachwärts zu späth erfuhr" (I, p. 300). Bräker also wishes to make it clear that he did not take undue advantage of this attractiveness: "Nie hab' ich mir auf meine Bildung und Gesicht zu viel gut gethan, obschon ich bey den artigen Närrchen sehr wohl gelitten war, und einiche aus ihnen gar die Schwachheit hatten mir zu sagen, ich sey einer der hübschesten Buben" (I, p. 297). He makes the same point even more emphatically in another passage: "Und da bin ich in meinem Innersten zufrieden mit mir selber, daß gewiß kein Weibsbild unter der Sonne auftreten und sagen kann, ich habe sie verführt; keine Seele auf Gottes Erdboden herumgeht, die mir ihr Daseyn vorzuwerfen hat; daß ich kein Weib ihrem Mann abspenstig gemacht, und eine einzige Jungfer gekostet--und die ist meine Frau" (I, p. 315). In fact, this 'confession of right-doing,' so to speak, is expanded into a general statement that he has never knowingly perpetrated an injustice upon anyone. Of the domineering Salome he writes, "Meinem Weib hab' ich nie Un-

recht gethan--es müßte denn das Unrecht heißen, daß ich mich nie ihr unterthan machen wollte" (I, p. 315). And, on a more general basis, he asserts, "Wenigstens darf ich mir dieß Zeugniß geben: Daß ich von Jugend an nie boshaft war, und mit Wissen und Willen niemand Unrecht gethan" (I, p. 313).

Let us now direct our attention to the presentation of the imagination, which is rather different from the account of it given in the narrative. In the narration of his youthful years, Bräker did not present himself as unduly prone to flights of fancy. He did not describe mental wanderings, but rather his physical activities: the daily details of the goatherd's life, his chores, his pastimes, and so on. Rather surprisingly, in Meine Geständnisse the reader is informed of a youthful predilection for constructing "drey dutzend spanischer Schlösser" (I, p. 296), only to tear them down and dream up new ones. This tendency, Bräker now observes, was particularly strong during his years of isolation: "So dauerte es bis ungefehr in mein achtzehntes Jahr, da mein Vater seinen Wohnort veränderte, und ich so zu sagen in eine ganz neue Welt trat, wo ich mehr Gesellschaft, Zeitvertreib, und minder Anlaß zum Phantasiren hatte" (I, p. 296). He reproaches himself for his "zügellose Einbildungskraft" (I, p. 299), which can so quickly conjure up "eine Robinsonsche Insel, oder irgend ein andres Schlauraffenland" (I, p. 306) to which he can transport himself. Like Brandes and Moritz, Bräker singles out the

novel as a genre particularly dangerous to imaginative individuals discontent with their lot in life.

Da ich hiernächst um die nämliche Zeit [directly after his marriage] mich aufs Lesen zu legen, und ich zuerst auf lauter mystisches Zeug--dann auf die Geschichte--dann auf die Philosophie--und endlich gar auf die verwünschten Romanen fiel, schickte sich zwar alle dieß vortreflich in meine idealische Welt, machte mir aber den Kopf nur noch verwirrter. Jeden Helden und Ebentheurer alter und neuer Zeit machf' ich mir eigen, lebte vollkommen in ihrer Lage, und bildete mir Umstände dazu und davon wie es mir beliebte. Die Romanen hinwieder machten mich ganz unzufrieden mit meinem eigenen Schicksal und den Geschäften meines Berufes, und weckten mich aus meinen Träumen, aber eben nur zu größerem Verdruß auf. (I, p. 306)

In his treatment of the dangers of the effects of the novel upon the imagination Bräker is closer to Brandes than to Moritz. Like Brandes, he simply informs the reader of the novel's harmful effects, but he makes no effort to dramatize them by recreating in prose the confused mind of an earlier self. Only in Anton Reiser does the author attempt to show the inner working of a confused imagination, rather than merely reporting that the confusion existed. At the end of the chapter, when Bräker sums up his good and bad traits, the overactive imagination is the leading villain among the latter. Again the author tells of his inclination for wishful thinking, but without attempting to describe the workings of the imagination in any detail.

So viele richtige Empfindungen; ein so wohl wollendes, zur Gerechtigkeit und Güte geneigtes Herz; so viel Freude und Theilnahm' an allem physisch und moralisch Schönen in der Welt; solch betrübende Gefühle beym Anblick oder Anhören jedes Unrechts, Jammers und Elends; so viele redliche Wünsche endlich, hauptsächlich für andrer Wohlergehn. Dessen alles bin ich mir, wie ich meyne, untrüglich bewußt. Aber dann daneben: Noch so viele Herzenstücke; solch einen Wust von Spanischen Schlössern, Türkischen Paradiesen, kurz Hirngespinnsten--die ich sogar in meinem alten Narrnkopf mit geheimem Wohlgefallen nähre--wie sie vielleicht sonst noch in keines Menschengehirn aufgestiegen sind. (I, pp. 317-318)

Meine Geständnisse may strike some readers as a document of limited appeal. For in this final analysis Bräker, reviewing his whole life, essentially concludes that he is now still "in meinem Innersten zufrieden mit mir selber" (I, p. 315), just as earlier, while looking back upon his youthful self, he was "zufrieden mit meinem damaligen Ich" (I, p. 171). In the sphere of action he acquits himself: he has seduced no women, done no one any wrong, at least to his knowledge. The only thing he can find to reproach himself for is his hyperactive imagination, which primarily harms him alone. What was intended as a confession of errors has turned out to be a document of self-justification rather than of self-accusation. In this Bräker's confessions are like those of his precursor, Rousseau. But unlike Rousseau, whose justification of his ways is as unselfconscious as it is vehement, Bräker, with admirable common sense, displays an awareness of the tendency people have to present themselves as favorably as possible. It is

difficult, he asserts, to write of one's foolishness: "Mir ist's als wenn mir jemand die Hand zurückzöge. Das Selbsttadeln muß also etwas unnatürliches, das Entschuldigen und sich selbst alles zum Besten deuten etwas ganz natürliches seyn" (I, p. 292). Towards the end of the Geständnisse, after finding that he is singing his own praises, he interrupts the train of thought: "Doch, ich merke wohl, ich fange an meine Tugenden zu mahlen--und sollte meine Fehler erzählen" (I, p. 317).

Bräker is also aware that he does not reach the level of self-knowledge he wishes for. The confessions, he hopes, have helped the reader understand him: "Meine aufrichtigen Geständnisse findet der Liebhaber ja oben, und wird daraus meinen Charakter ziemlich genau zu bestimmen wissen" (I, p. 317). As for himself, he finds that in self-knowledge his desire still exceeds his attainment: "Schon seit Langem hab' ich mir viele Mühe gegeben, mich zu studiren, und glaube wirklich zum Theil mich zu kennen---...--zum Theil aber bin ich mir freylich noch immer ein seltsames Räthsel" (I, p. 317). As Müller remarks of the Lebensgeschichte: "die Darstellung ist eine offene Frage...."⁹⁹

In conclusion, it would be useful to summarize some of the points we have been trying to make in the course of our analysis. While at first appearing naive and unsophisticated, the Lebensgeschichte is far from being a hodge-podge, the "Gickel Gackel" self-deprecatingly referred to by the author. The work contains

three important narrative episodes (childhood, Aennchen, Prussian service) which show the influence of fictional techniques. The effects of Bräker's reading on his autobiography may well have been hidden from the author himself. Müller claims, "Literarische Muster kamen für Bräker nur so weit in Frage, wie sie die Wirklichkeitsaussage ermöglichten, d. h. so weit sie--ihm unbewußt-- seine Darstellungsgabe bestimmten."¹⁰⁰ From a distance of two hundred years, of course, we will never know with any certainty to what extent Bräker was conscious of the influence of literature upon him. The important point is that the three main narrative episodes of the autobiography are shaped not only by Bräker's childhood experiences but also by his subsequent development. As Holger Böning, observes regarding the goatherd days: "Eine authentische Schilderung des Lebens mit der väterlichen Herde gibt Ulrich Bräker, wenngleich man nicht vergessen darf, daß er bei Niederschrift seiner Autobiographie bereits als Mann gelten durfte, der auch die Hirtenidyllen des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts gelesen hatte."¹⁰¹ In these episodes, Bräker presents himself as an innocent, who, at the hands of various teachers, becomes initiated in the ways of the world.

Although the Lebensgeschichte is no "Gickel Gackel," the view of the self presented in it is not without some inconsistencies. Different parts of the autobiography reveal different strands in the self-analysis, as well as some discrepancies. Through direct self-characterization and in Meine Geständnisse, some different

aspects of the self emerge. Instead of the naive country boy of the narrative, Bräker presents himself (albeit discreetly) as a person who is plagued by strong sensual impulses which conflict with his Pietist upbringing and moral views. "Das schöne Geschlecht war freylich von jeher meine Lieblingssache" (I, p. 315) he writes, and it is a source of considerable satisfaction to him that he can report that he has resisted temptation in this field. This dimension of sensuality receives less attention in the narrative portion of the autobiography.

A comparison of Bräker's narration of his childhood and the commentary offered in the Geständnisse also reveals another discrepancy. In his 'confessions' he belatedly attributes to his younger self a wild imagination, an account of which is nowhere to be found in the narrative. In the narrative the escapist imagination makes its appearance only after his marriage.

Bräker's account of the self may be said to consist primarily of his presentation of these three characteristics: his early naïveté, his sensuality, and his imaginative flights of fancy. These characteristics emerge in different parts of the autobiography, and no particular one of them is raised to special prominence. We have already moved beyond the heavy emphasis on a predominant character trait which was the autobiographic strategy of the authors of the previous chapter. Bräker's account of the self, while somewhat uneven and occasionally inconsistent, makes up for

this by being more multi-faceted. Finally, we may recall that while he showed awareness of the dangers of an over-active imagination, he seemed unable or unwilling to describe the workings of the imagination in any detail. To see the individual imagination at work we must turn to Anton Reiser.

Karl Philipp Moritz: Anton Reiser

Karl Philipp Moritz was born on September 15, 1756, in Hameln, in the Kingdom of Hanover. His father, Johann Gottlieb Moritz, a musician for the military, had turned to religion following the death of his first wife. By the time of Karl Philipp's birth he was a follower of the Separatist Herr von Fleischbein, whose Quietist variant of Pietism was greatly influenced by the teachings of the Catholic mystic Jeanne-Marie de la Motte Guyon (1648-1717). Moritz's mother, however, remained an orthodox Lutheran, and there was a great deal of tension between the two parents. After the end of the Seven Years' War (1763), the family moved to Hanover. At the age of ten Moritz was taken to the town of Bad Pyrmont, where his father introduced him to Herr von Fleischbein and the members of the religious community. A second journey to Bad Pyrmont was undertaken the following year, this time with both the boy and his mother. This visit apparently did not go according to plan, for instead of being taken into the religious community the young Karl Philipp was sent to school, which was not usually the Separatist practice.¹⁰² Later he was appren-

ticed to a hatmaker in Brunswick for one and a half unhappy years. Subsequently he was allowed to return to school again in Hanover, where he attended several high schools (Gymnasien). In these Gymnasien, which were under the direction of progressive headmasters, the young Moritz was exposed for the first time to the authors and ideals of the Enlightenment. Unfortunately he was also subjected to a humiliating regime of 'charity meals' (Frei-tische), which left a deep impression upon him. In his later teens Moritz became obsessed with the theatre and the desire to become an actor. Eventually he attempted to join an acting troupe and left Hanover for Erfurt. Upon arriving there he found that the actors had gone to another city, and he was persuaded to enroll in the University of Erfurt instead of pursuing the troupe farther. But later he attempted to attach himself to a different group of travelling players, only to learn that it had dispersed, because the director had run off with the wardrobe and the box office receipts. At this point Anton Reiser, Moritz's account of his youth, breaks off. The narrative takes the reader to the middle of the author's twenty-first year.

After Erfurt Moritz spent a short time with a Moravian brotherhood, then enrolled in the University of Wittenberg, where he remained for a year. Thereafter followed a short period of association with Johann Bernhard Basedow (1729-1790), a famous if somewhat eccentric educator whose magnum opus, the Elementarwerk (1774), influenced Moritz's own pedagogical practice. He began

his career as a teacher in Berlin, instructing first at the Royal Potsdam Orphanage, and later at the Gymnasium zum Grauen Kloster. He advanced fairly rapidly in his profession, being appointed Conrector in 1782, and professor in 1784.¹⁰³ In the summer of 1782 he travelled to England, and his account of this journey, Reisen eines Deutschen in England im Jahr 1782 (1783), became his first widely-known publication: "diesem Werk verdankte Moritz seinen Namen als Schriftsteller."¹⁰⁴ In 1785 he undertook a walking tour of Germany as well. But by far the most important trip of his life was his Italian journey, for in Rome he was finally able to meet Goethe, whom he had admired since the appearance of Die Leiden des jungen Werther in 1774. Hans-Joachim Schrimpf writes, "Den Höhepunkt in Moritz' schriftstellerischem wie persönlichem Leben stellte ohne Zweifel seine Italienreise (1786-1788) dar, die zeitlich mit der Goetheschen fast genau zusammenfällt."¹⁰⁵ Goethe said of Moritz that he was "wie ein jüngerer Bruder von mir, von derselben Art, nur da vom Schicksal verwahrlost und beschädigt, wo ich begünstigt und vorgezogen bin."¹⁰⁶ The two were in close association until April of 1788, when Goethe departed for Weimar. Goethe's influence was particularly important for Moritz's most important work on aesthetics, Über die bildende Nachahmung des Schönen (1788), although recognition of this fact should not be used as an excuse for denying the author any claim to original thought.¹⁰⁷

Moritz himself returned to Germany in December of 1788. After two

months as Goethe's house guest in Weimar he returned to Berlin, arriving in grand style, accompanied by Duke Karl August of Weimar. In 1789 he was elected to the Royal Academy of the Arts in Berlin, and in 1792 he was elected to the Prussian Academy of Sciences. During this period Moritz continued to publish pedagogical, aesthetic and fictional works. Outwardly a time of triumph, the last years of Moritz's life were marred by a disastrous, tragi-comical marriage to a fifteen-year-old girl. He died in 1793, almost certainly of tuberculosis, at the age of thirty-six.

As this brief sketch of Moritz's life has referred to his works only in passing, it would be useful to provide an overview of his literary production. As a teacher, Moritz began his literary career with pedagogical works such as Tabelle von der englischen Aussprache (1779) and Unterhaltungen mit meinen Schülern (1790). In light of his early theatre mania, it is not surprising that Moritz's first attempt at creative writing was a one-act play, the "astonishingly crude"¹⁰⁸ Blunt, oder der Gast (1780). His first work in the field of psychology, Beiträge zur Philosophie des Lebens aus dem Tagebuch eines Freimäuerers also appeared in this year, and is more concerned with self-observation than with philosophy in its narrower, scholastic sense. His major contribution to psychology (aside from Anton Reiser) was Gnothi Seauton oder Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde, which appeared in ten volumes from 1783 to 1793. It was intended as a journal of empir-

ical psychological data, and included both documents of self-observation, such as excerpts from the autobiographies of such figures as Jung-Stilling, Adam Bernd and Maimon, as well as observations about unusual individuals made by others. Regarding the work which is our main concern in this study, it is important to remember that Anton Reiser was published in four parts, the first appearing in book form in 1784, parts two and three in 1786, and part four in 1790. Thus the fourth part, as Boulby points out, belongs to a period of "greater maturity, after Moritz had returned from Italy and had established an intimate relationship with Goethe."¹⁰⁹ In these same years Moritz composed his symbolic novels Andreas Hartknopf. Eine Allegorie (1786) and Andreas Hartknopfs Predigerjahre (1790). To the productive year 1786 also belongs one of Moritz's more important investigations concerning the German language, Versuch einer deutschen Prosodie. Directly after his experiences in Rome appeared his major work on aesthetics, the previously-mentioned Über die bildende Nachahmung des Schönen (1788). Moritz also wrote an account of his Italian journey, Reisen eines Deutschen in Italien in den Jahren 1786 bis 1788. In Briefen (1792). In his last years Moritz continued to publish profusely, especially in the field of pedagogy, with such works as Vom richtigen deutschen Ausdruck (1792), Lesebuch für Kinder (1792), and Grammatisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache (1793), to name only some of the titles. He also continued writing on aesthetics, with the Vorbegriffe zu einer Theorie der Ornamente appearing in 1793.

Moritz's last work, a novel entitled Die neue Cecilia (1794), was dictated from his deathbed.

Despite having made quite an impression upon his contemporaries--he was an object both of admiration and derision in Berlin--Moritz was quickly forgotten after his death.¹¹⁰ Jean Paul, who at one time had intended to act as a posthumous editor of Moritz's works,¹¹¹ numbered the author of Anton Reiser and Andreas Hartknopf among the "Grenz-Genies."¹¹² By 1826, Heinrich Heine makes mention of "'Philipp Reiser' [sic], einem schon verschollenen Romane."¹¹³ After that in the words of Hans-Joachim Schrimpf, "Er verblaßt in der geschichtlichen Erinnerung, lebt fort, von wenigen beachtet, als Schatten Goethes und als Verfasser einer befremdlich-selbstquälerischen Autobiographie."¹¹⁴ The single exception to this state of oblivion is a long and sympathetic essay by Willibald Alexis, which appeared in Robert Prutz's Litteraturhistorisches Taschenbuch in 1847.¹¹⁵

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, however, a gradual reawakening of interest in Moritz occurred. In 1886 Anton Reiser was reprinted for the first time, with the justification "daß das Werk schon seit Jahrzehnten recht selten geworden war."¹¹⁶ Über die bildende Nachahmung des Schönen was reprinted two years later,¹¹⁷ and in 1889 Max Dessoir published a study entitled Karl Philipp Moritz als Aesthetiker.¹¹⁸ Perhaps the most important single work of early research on Moritz was Hugo

Eybisch's Anton Reiser. Untersuchungen zur Lebensgeschichte von Karl Philipp Moritz und zur Kritik seiner Autobiographie (1909), which established beyond reasonable doubt that in Anton Reiser Moritz presented the circumstances of his own youth.¹¹⁹ In the same year Fritz Brüggemann devoted considerable attention to Anton Reiser in his study Die Ironie als entwicklungsgeschichtliches Moment.¹²⁰ Moritz's work is also discussed in Melitta Gerhard's Der deutsche Entwicklungsroman bis Goethes 'Wilhelm Meister' (1926), although the author is of the opinion that Anton Reiser does not qualify as an Entwicklungsroman due to its inconclusive ending.¹²¹

In the thirties Moritz research received fresh impetus from Robert Minder, who probed the religious background of Moritz's thought.¹²² Schrimpf writes, "Was Eybisch für die biographische Forschung, das hat Minder für die Erschließung der quietistischen und pietistischen Quellen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert geleistet, und zwar nicht nur als Grundlage der Schriften von Moritz, sondern für die Epoche insgesamt."¹²³ Another important study from this period was that of Rudolf Unger, who first pointed out the significance of the palingenesis motif in Anton Reiser, as well as tracing Moritz's influence on the early German Romantics.¹²⁴ After the Second World War, Eckehard Catholy undertook an in-depth analysis of German eighteenth-century theatre mania, with particular attention to Moritz.¹²⁵ In a 1955 dissertation, Ruth Ghisler examined Anton Reiser in relation to re-

ligious ideas, although she appears not to have known of Minder's work on the same topic.¹²⁶ In 1958 Arno Schmidt made his famous pronouncement which numbered Moritz among the "Schreckensmänner," men of rebellious tendency, along with Rousseau and Marat.¹²⁷

In the 1960s and 1970s a steady stream of articles, dissertations and books on Moritz continued to appear. In a 1966 dissertation, Frank Proskauer linked Moritz to some early German Romantics with the then-fashionable idea of 'alienation.'¹²⁸ A Swiss dissertation in 1967 analyzed the picture of the individual and society found in Moritz's works.¹²⁹ A 1970 monograph attempted a Freudian interpretation of the author.¹³⁰ Thomas P. Saine's important book, Die ästhetische Theodizee (1971), placed Moritz's aesthetics within the context of Enlightenment philosophy.¹³¹ A 1971 dissertation by Ulrich Hubert investigated Moritz's relationship to the beginnings of Romanticism in Germany,¹³² and a 1972 thesis by Erdmann Waniek investigated the problem of artistic consciousness in Moritz and Wackenroder.¹³³ Dorothee Sölle's Realisation (1973), a study of the relationship of theology and literature in the wake of Enlightenment secularization, included a meticulous stylistic analysis of Anton Reiser and Andreas Hartknopf.¹³⁴ Josef Fürnkäs' Der Ursprung des psychologischen Romans (1977) treated the genesis of the psychological novel "als geschichtsphilosophisches und als Form-problem."¹³⁵ In 1979 appeared Mark Boulby's comprehensive and well-received

study, Karl Philipp Moritz: At the Fringe of Genius.¹³⁶ Of sound scholarship, this book is also written in an accessible style, which, as Schrimpf observes, should make it possible for Moritz to be appreciated by a wider public: "Boulby ist es mit seiner Darstellung nicht nur gelungen, der eigenen Zielsetzung entsprechend die Bedeutung Moritzens über die Fachwissenschaft hinaus verständlich zu machen; er hat hier auch die erste, ein breiteres Interesse beanspruchende Monographie für das englisch-sprechende Lesepublikum vorgelegt."¹³⁷ Schrimpf's own contribution to Moritz research, his monograph on this author for the Metzler series (1980), is also an indispensable work, providing an excellent overview of the man and his writings, as well as a comprehensive bibliography.¹³⁸ After the appearance of these many dissertations and monographs, scholarly attention to Moritz appears to have declined somewhat. To my knowledge, after 1980 only one dissertation has been devoted exclusively to him.¹³⁹ Recent articles tend to steer clear of Anton Reiser and concern themselves with other works by Moritz, particularly his aesthetic writings.¹⁴⁰ But perhaps the pendulum is beginning to swing once again towards a renewed interest in the central work of Moritz's oeuvre, for recently a major monograph devoted primarily to Reiser has appeared, Die kranke Seele und das Licht der Erkenntnis, by Lothar Müller. This study stresses Moritz's affinities with the Enlightenment, rather than approaching him as a precursor of Romanticism, as has sometimes been done.¹⁴¹

(The foregoing, it should be added, has been intended only as an overview of criticism on Moritz, not a comprehensive account. For a complete list of works consulted, the reader is invited to refer to the bibliography.)

Before proceeding further, it would seem useful also to provide a brief account of the more modern criticism which focuses primarily on Anton Reiser. If this list does not seem too extensive, it is because very often discussion of this work has taken place within a larger context, such as its relation to Pietism or theatre mania.¹⁴² For this reason, perhaps, Mark Boulby observed not so long ago (1973) that Anton Reiser, "although it has been discussed in various contexts and from many points of view, has received curiously little detailed and sustained analysis, at least as a work of art in its own right."¹⁴³ One of the first modern articles to discuss Anton Reiser as a work of art was August Langen's 1962 essay "Karl Philipp Moritz' Weg zur symbolischen Dichtung."¹⁴⁴ Langen writes that the style of Anton Reiser is "klar in Fügung und Ausdruck," and that the objects which come to function as symbols in the book are "mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit nicht frei erfunden" but rather based "auf wirklichen Erlebnissen."¹⁴⁵ In his 1963 contribution on Moritz to the well-known anthology Der deutsche Roman, Hans Joachim Schrimpf drew attention to the sociological aspect of Reiser's oppression and, because of the protagonist's ever-recurring feelings of isolation and rejection, termed Anton Reiser "ein

negativer Bildungsroman, ein Antibildungsroman."¹⁴⁶ In 1972 Boulby published his first essay on Moritz, "Anton Reiser and the Concept of the Novel," which discussed the work's complex relationship to the tradition of the novel and autobiography.¹⁴⁷ He concludes that Reiser is a work "which strangely combines the features of disparate conventions, and contributes a germ of sheer originality."¹⁴⁸ Boulby's next article, "The Gates of Brunswick: Some Aspects of Symbol, Structure and Theme in Karl Philipp Moritz's Anton Reiser" (1973), carries on the work begun by Langen, and explicates more fully the work's recurring symbolic motifs.¹⁴⁹ Müller, in the section on Anton Reiser in his study Autobiographie und Roman (1976), is also primarily concerned with the work's relationship with novelistic and autobiographical tradition, and sees in it the "ideale Synthese von Autobiographie und Roman."¹⁵⁰ In his 1976 article "Ästhetisches Naturerlebnis bei Karl Philipp Moritz," Jan Wolter points out that Reiser does not always encounter nature book-in-hand, but that at times he gives evidence of "ein ästhetisches Verhalten, das in seiner Eigenart nicht mit den modischen Formen der Empfindsamkeit seiner Zeit verglichen werden kann."¹⁵¹ An article in 1979 by William Durden discusses Anton Reiser in terms of existential depth psychology.¹⁵² In "The Theme of Communication in Anton Reiser: A Reflection on the Feasibility of the Enlightenment" (1981), Martin L. Davies presents a 'political' interpretation of the book.¹⁵³ He emphasizes that in Germany the Enlightenment took place "within a reactionary social sys-

tem", and thus the young, literate 'Aufklärer' might be unable to find a niche in society commensurate with his education and abilities. Davies concludes that Moritz "experienced at first hand the disorientation which can arise when social and cultural values are in conflict. For all its promise, the humanistic idealism of his time confronted him in his youth with an invidious choice between impractical ambition and nihilistic despair."¹⁵⁴ Heinrich Kaulen, in his 1982 article, "Erinnertes Leid. Karl Philipp Moritz: 'Anton Reiser,'" takes a more optimistic view: "Moritzens Roman bewahrt die Möglichkeit eines befreiten Lebens in den Bildern des geknechteten Menschen auf."¹⁵⁵ And in the most recent article on Reiser available to me, "'Des ganzen Lebens anschauliches Bild:' Autobiographik und Symbolik bei Karl Philipp Moritz" (1983), Helmut Pfotenhauer concentrates on the role of memory in Moritz, and establishes interesting parallels between him and Proust.¹⁵⁶

Before proceeding with our analysis of Anton Reiser, we shall have to consider the problem of generic identity. This problem has been with Reiser from the beginning, and indeed an entire dissertation has been devoted to the subject.¹⁵⁷ This is because, as Heinrich Kaulen observes, "Moritz selbst scheint sich über die Gattungszugehörigkeit seines Werkes keineswegs ganz im klaren gewesen zu sein."¹⁵⁸ A well-known passage from the foreword to the first book of the work reads, "Dieser psychologische Roman könnte auch allenfalls eine Biographie genannt wer-

den..."¹⁵⁹ As Boulby has established, Moritz had been just as indecisive on an earlier occasion: "In the Berlinische Monatschrift, hrsg. F. Gedike and J. E. Blester, Berlin, 1783, Bd. 2, Moritz published a 'Fragment aus Anton Reisers Lebensgeschichte' (pp. 357-364), adding the intriguing footnote: 'Einem psychologischen Roman, oder vielmehr Biographie, woran der Verfasser itzt arbeitet' (p. 357). Two years before the publication of the completed first part of the work (1785) its author was just as unsure as he was later which term he preferred."¹⁶⁰

If the author himself was unsure what to call his book, how are we to decide? Luckily, there is every indication that a strict distinction between autobiography and novel is to be avoided rather than embraced. In his book on Moritz, Boulby remarks that the issue of generic identity "should not be over-inflated," and adds, "Outmoded nineteenth-century genre theory causes confusion when applied to a work which, though it is certainly an autobiography, was called by its author himself, for good reason, a novel."¹⁶¹ An earlier article, which summarizes the views of Saine, explains how Anton Reiser can be considered both autobiography and novel.

Thomas Price Saine, in his recent book on Moritz, has pointed out that the apparent contradiction between the author's statement, in the 'Vorrede' to the first part of Anton Reiser (1785), that he is writing a 'psychologischen Roman,' and the correction in the 'Vorrede' to the second part that the book is

'im eigentlichsten Verstande Biographie,' is indeed more apparent than real. Saine argues that, for Moritz as an Aufklärer, biography seems to be the only possible basis of the composition of a valid psychological novel, and therefore the superficial terminological dichotomy is no more than a function of the author's theory of the novel as a whole.¹⁶²

Many other critics as well have argued that the work is both autobiography and novel. Reference has already been made to Müller, who views Anton Reiser as an "ideale Synthese von Autobiographie und Roman."¹⁶³ Schrimpf observes, "'Anton Reiser' steht in der Mitte zwischen Biographie und Roman."¹⁶⁴ And Kaulen writes of Moritz, "Sein Werk ist psychologischer Roman und Biographie, Dokument und Fiktion zugleich, ohne daß es auf einen der Begriffe ausschließlich festzulegen wäre."¹⁶⁵

However, an elementary and fundamental difference between Anton Reiser and the other works considered in this study is that Moritz alone has chosen to write in the third person. The question naturally arises: is the use of the third person incompatible with autobiography? Both the empirical data of literary experience and the utterances of a theoretician of autobiography speak against any categorical incompatibility. Such famous works as The Education of Henry Adams and The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas are written in the third person, and yet are almost always classified as autobiography. Or to choose an example closer in time and place to Moritz, in Dichtung und Wahrheit

Goethe at times refers to his earlier self as "das Kind" or "der Knabe." And the French theoretician of autobiography, Philippe Lejeune, does not seek to exclude third person narratives from his concept of le pacte autobiographique: "The author speaks about himself as if another were speaking about him, or as if he himself were speaking of another. This as if concerns only the enunciation; the statement is still subject to the strict and distinct rules of the autobiographical contract."¹⁶⁶ In fact, Lejeune argues that since the told-about self and the telling self are not really identical beings, a third person autobiography is in a sense more honest: "The first person, then, always conceals a hidden third person, and in this sense every autobiography is by definition indirect. But in...third person autobiographies...this indirectness is admitted, is boldly proclaimed."¹⁶⁷ Lejeune goes on to suggest a reason why an autobiographer might choose to employ the third person: "The third person figures provide a range of solutions [to the problem of the narrated-self/narrating self dichotomy] in which distancing is more prominent, though always used to express an articulated connection (a tension) between identity and difference" [of these two selves].¹⁶⁸

The idea of distancing is certainly relevant to Anton Reiser. Boulby argues of Reiser that "the gulf between him and his narrator is much wider than is usual in autobiography, certainly wider than in Rousseau's Confessions."¹⁶⁹ Unlike Rousseau,

whose concern is primarily to justify past actions, to provide an account of mitigating circumstances, or at the very least to inform the reader of his contrition regarding past transgressions, Moritz's merit lies in the fact that he moves beyond rationalizing and excusing the former self: "Moritz' geschichtliche Bedeutung liegt vor allem darin, daß er trotz seines Ausgangs von ganz subjektiven Erfahrungen und persönlichstem Betroffensein zu distanzierter, ja wissenschaftlicher Diagnose fähig ist."¹⁷⁰ Moritz writes from intimate knowledge of the former self, but as though that self were a different person. This allows him to create two perspectives. He imaginatively recreates the limited perspective of his childhood, and then analyses it from the viewpoint of the editor of the Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde, the careful and systematic observer of human behavior. Mark Boulby vividly renders these two perspectives when he writes: "Life is perceived as it were horizontally through the narrow aperture of a claustrophobic vision, and simultaneously it is dissected from above and opened up vertically by a dexterous scientist of the mind."¹⁷¹ Part of the psychology of this "psychologischer Roman" is that the use of the third person allows the author to write about the former self with greater detachment and objectivity than would likely have resulted had he identified himself more closely with that past by choosing the first person. Referring to the use of the third person, Lothar Müller observes: "Die Konstruktion des Romans hält die Voraussetzung des Distanzgewinns fest, der mit dem

Entwurf eines frei blickenden, erkenntnistiftenden Erzählers einhergeht."¹⁷² There are exceptional occasions upon which Reiser comes close to attaining the superior perspective of his narrator, but these do not invalidate the establishment of a double perspective, as a general rule, as a fundamental consequence of Moritz's use of the third person.¹⁷³

As our review of the criticism has demonstrated, Anton Reiser has been approached from a variety of viewpoints. Perhaps the most frequently-explicated facet of the book has been the protagonist's 'disease,' the origin and nature of his book and theatre mania. The current study will treat Reiser's obsession with books and theatre as an aspect of the problem of individuality. For in Anton Reiser individuality, instead of being presented by means of numerous and varied characteristics, itself becomes a topic of discussion. Such direct discussion of individuality to my knowledge does not occur in German-language autobiography of the late eighteenth century except in Moritz. Müller observes, "es war...neu, daß das Problem der Individualität selbst zum Gegenstand einer Autobiographie wurde," and accurately describes Anton Reiser as "die Geschichte einer Neurose, die Krankengeschichte eines gestörten Verhältnisses zur Wirklichkeit aus Mangel an Möglichkeit, das zur Ausbildung der Individualität notwendige Selbstvertrauen zu gewinnen."¹⁷⁴ Josef Grolmund has also written of Moritz's "Aussagen über die Individualität, die im Mittelpunkt seines Menschenbildes stehen."¹⁷⁵ And in the

foreword to the first book, the author himself avows that it is his intention "die Aufmerksamkeit des Menschen mehr auf den Menschen zu heften, und ihm sein individuelles Dasein wichtiger zu machen" (p. 36). To put the problem as simply as possible: it will be our task first to trace what causes Anton Reiser to be ashamed and contemptuous of that "one specific form of humanity which only he represents" (in Weintraub's phrase), and then to see how he later comes to gain, albeit tenuously, a more secure sense of self.

One need not look far to discover why Reiser's respect for his own individuality is endangered virtually from the moment of birth. Moritz begins the story of his youth not with a description of his parents or his birth, but with an account of the Quietist religious regime of Herr von Fleischbein. This gentleman is the spiritual mentor of Anton's father, and Fleischbein's household, we are told, "bestand aus lauter solchen Personen, deren Bestreben nur dahin ging, oder zu gehen schien, in ihr Nichts (wie die Mad. Guion nennt) wieder einzugehen, alle Leidenschaften zu ertöten, und alle Eigenheit auszurotten....In allen Mienen glaubte man Ertötung und Verleugnung, und in allen Handlungen Ausgehen aus sich selbst und Eingehen in Nichts zu lesen" (p. 37). Fleischbein demands that his followers immerse themselves in the writings of Madame Guyon, and Moritz describes her teachings: "Die Lehren, welche in diesen Schriften enthalten sind, betreffen größtenteils jenes schon erwähnte völlige Aus-

gehen aus sich selbst, und Eingehen in ein seliges Nichts, jene gänzliche Ertötung aller sogenannten Eigenheit oder Eigenliebe, und eine völlig uninteressierte Liebe zu Gott, worin sich auch kein Fünkchen Selbstliebe mehr mischen darf...." (p. 38).

For our present purpose it is only an interesting historical aside that the practices of Fleischbein and his followers were a distortion of Madame Guyon's original ideas, as both Minder and Boulby have pointed out.¹⁷⁶ More important is their effect on the young Moritz/Reiser. Not surprisingly, he comes to view his existence negatively and death positively. During a serious illness, we are told, "Man gab ihn völlig auf, und er hörte beständig von sich, wie von einem, der schon wie ein Toter beobachtet wird, reden. Dies war ihm lächerlich, oder vielmehr war ihm das Sterben selbst, wie er sich damals vorstellte, mehr etwas Lächerliches, als etwas Ernsthaftes" (p. 44). Another time, the reader learns, "...der Gedanke an seine eigne Zerstörung war ihm nicht nur angenehm, sondern verursachte ihm sogar eine Art wollüstiger Empfindung, wenn er oft des Abends, ehe er einschlief, sich die Auflösung und das Auseinanderfallen seines Körpers lebhaft dachte" (p. 53). Only later, when at the age of ten he hears of a sudden and violent death, does he come to think of death as "ein gänzlich Aufhören von Denken und Ermangelung seiner selbst," a prospect which fills him with "Grauen und Entsetzen" (p. 59). But there is a psychological price for this insight, because it conflicts with his idea of proper piety. In his happiest moments he

feels so full of God's grace that he wishes to die before his consciousness returns to a more prosaic level. But thereafter,

...es konnte nicht fehlen, daß bei allen diesen Ausschweifungen seiner Phantasie die Natur ihren Zeitpunkt wahrnahm, wo sie wieder zurückkehrte--und dann die natürliche Liebe zum Leben, um des Lebens willen, in Antons Seele wieder erwachte.--Dann war ihm freilich der Gedanke an seinen bevorstehenden Tod sehr etwas Trauriges und Unangenehmes, und er betrachtete diese Augenblicke als solche, wo er wieder aus der göttlichen Gnade gefallen sei, und geriet darüber in neue Angst, weil es ihm nicht möglich war, die Stimme der Natur in sich zu unterdrücken. (p. 95)

These "Leiden der Einbildungskraft" (p.95) lead for a time to an obsession with death, during which every howling dog, every hen crowing like a rooster, prophesies his imminent doom. The end result: "So war Anton nun in seinem dreizehnten Jahr...ein völliger Hypochondrist geworden, von dem man im eigentlichen Verstande sagen konnte, daß er in jedem Augenblick lebend starb" (p.96).

It is clear that Quietism, albeit misunderstood, contributed greatly to Reiser's sense of insignificance. In addition to its baleful view of the self, and its insistence on a mystical union with nothingness which caused Reiser to think he should wish for death and feel guilty for wanting to live, it also created an unpleasant atmosphere at home. His mother insisted on remaining a Lutheran, and this led to constant quarreling between the par-

ents. For this reason too Anton felt "daß er von der Wiege an unterdrückt ward" (p. 40).

However, Moritz also emphasizes social and economic factors which contribute to his lack of self-esteem. Preoccupied with their quarrels, the parents ignore Anton. Also, the father's meagre earnings do not provide adequately for the family.

Er fühlte auf das innigste das Bedürfnis der Freundschaft von seinesgleichen: und oft, wenn er einen Knaben von seinem Alter sahe, hing seine ganze Seele an ihm, und er hätte alles drum gegeben, sein Freund zu werden; allein das niederschlagende Gefühl der Verachtung, die er von seinen Eltern erlitten, und die Scham, wegen seiner armseligen, schmutzigen, und zerrißnen Kleidung hielten ihn zurück, daß er es nicht wagte, einen glücklichen Knaben anzureden. (p. 42)

This passage refers to early childhood, but poverty continues to humiliate Reiser throughout his formative years. There is his harsh apprenticeship to the hatmaker Lobenstein, with its tiny, claustrophobic drying room, and its unpleasant duties such as washing steaming hats in freezing temperatures until his hands split from the temperature change. A religious enthusiast of a Calvinistic taint,¹⁷⁷ Lobenstein is an entirely disagreeable person, as Moritz's description, with its shrewd observation of the interrelation of religion and economic exploitation, makes clear.

[Hr. L. konnte] zuweilen stundenlange Strafpredigten gegen das ganze menschliche Geschlecht halten. Mit einer sanften Bewegung der rechten Hand teilte er dann Segen und Verdammnis aus. Seine Miene sollte dabei mitleidvoll sein, aber die Intoleranz und der Menschenhaß hatten sich zwischen seinen schwarzen Augenbraunen gelagert.

Die Nutzenanwendung lief denn immer, politisch genug, darauf hinaus, daß er seine Leute zum Eifer und zur Treue--in seinem Dienste ermahnte, wenn sie nicht ewig im höllischen Feuer brennen wollten.

Seine Leute konnten ihm nie genug [sic] arbeiten--und er machte ein Kreuz über das Brot und die Butter, wenn er ausging. (p. 76)

During his Gymnasium days in Hanover Reiser is subjected to a weekly round of charity meals (Freitische), with stingy housewives eyeing his every bite. Moritz observes, "Der Stand der geringsten Lehrburschen eines Handwerkers ist ehrenvoller, als der eines jungen Menschen, der, um studieren zu können, von Wohltaten lebt, sobald ihm diese Wohltaten auf eine herabwürdigende Art erzeigt werden" (p. 152). But perhaps the strongest passage concerning social and economic matters is occasioned by a hasty dismissal from a social superior.

Im Grunde war es das Gefühl, der durch bürgerliche Verhältnisse unterdrückten Menschheit, das sich seiner hiebei bemächtigte, und ihm das Leben verhaßt machte--er mußte einen jungen Edelmann unterrichten, der ihn dafür bezahlte, und ihm nach geendigter Stunde auf eine höfliche Art die Türe weisen konnte, wenn es ihm beliebte--was hatte er vor seiner Geburt verbrochen, daß er nicht auch ein Mensch geworden war, um den sich eine Anzahl anderer

Menschen bekümmern...--warum erhielt er gerade die Rolle des Arbeitenden und ein anderer des Bezahlenden? (p.300)

Of this and similar passages Schrimpf comments, "Die Schärfe, mit der Moritz an verschiedenen Stellen von der ökonomischen Basis her argumentiert, kommt zu Formulierungen, die eher aus dem 19. als aus dem 18. Jahrhundert zu stammen scheinen und wie ein Vorklang von Büchners 'Hessischem Landboten' anmuten."¹⁷⁸

A third cause for Reiser's lack of self-esteem is his hypersensitivity to slights and perceived insults, the result, of course, of his feelings of inferiority. The narrator informs the reader that Anton's mother had the tendency "sich oft für beleidigt, und gern für beleidigt zu halten" (p. 55), and continues, "Leider scheint sie diese Krankheit auf ihren Sohn fortgeerbt zu haben ..." (p. 55). In the course of youth and adolescence Reiser collects and broods upon a series of real or imagined slights, including the previously alluded to hasty farewell by a nobleman. In the passage below, he reflects on their cumulative effect.

...dies Zuvorkommende war für Reiser so erschrecklich auffallend, und drückte auf einmal so sehr sein ganzes Wesen darnieder, daß er, da er schon hinaus war, noch eine Weile still stand, und ihm die Arme am Körper niedersanken --dies zuvorkommende ich habe die Ehre mich Ihnen zu empfehlen, gesellte sich plötzlich in seiner Idee zu dem dummer Knabe! des Inspektors auf dem Seminarium, zu dem ich meine ihn ja nicht! des Kaufmanns, zu dem 'par nobile Fratrum' der Primaner, und zu dem das ist ja

eine wahre Dummheit! des Rektors. --Er fühlte sich auf einige Augenblicke wie vernichtet,... --Der Gedanke des auch nur einen Augenblick lästig gewesen seins, fiel wie ein Berg auf ihn--er hätte in dem Moment dies irgend einem Geschöpf außer ihm so lästige Dasein abschüteln mögen. (p. 299)

Incidents like this initiate a pattern of withdrawal, and the boy's uncommunicativeness leads to his being ignored and rejected by those around him. Discussing this problem, Moritz puts the blame squarely on society, not on the individual: "Diese Zurücksetzung, welche in einer Reihe von zufälligen Umständen gegründet war, hatte den Anfang zu seinem Betragen, und nicht sein Betragen, wie man glaubte, den Anfang zur Zurücksetzung gemacht" (p. 179). It is clear that for Moritz environmental factors are crucial in determining behavior. In contrast to Pietism, in Moritz the individual appears "nicht mehr von oben, nun aber von außen gelenkt."¹⁷⁹

We have identified three major causes of Reiser's "Mangel am Selbstgefühl" (p. 302), namely, religious ideology, social standing, and the negative interpersonal dynamics which occur because of his sense of inferiority. What are its results? One result is Reiser's reading mania, through which he escapes unpleasant reality: "Durch das Lesen war ihm nun auf einmal eine neue Welt eröffnet, in deren Genuß er sich für alle das Unangenehme in seiner wirklichen Welt einigermaßen entschädigen konnte. Wenn nun rund um ihn her nichts als Lärmen und Schelten und häusliche Zwietracht

herrschte, oder er sich vergeblich nach einem Gespielen umsah, so eilte er hin zu seinem Buche" (p. 43). As Schrimpf observes, "[Moritz] kennt auch schon zwar nicht den Begriff doch die Sache 'Ersatzbefriedigung' und 'Kompensation'-- sein ganzer Roman handelt von nichts anderem."¹⁸⁰ And that Reiser's escapism is not just a result of an unpleasant reality, but also a result of a diminished sense of the self, is demonstrated in another passage.

Weil er von Kindheit auf zu wenig eigene Existenz gehabt hatte, so zog ihn jedes Schicksal, das außer ihm war, desto stärker an; daher schrieb sich ganz natürlich während seiner Schuljahre, die Mut, Komödien zu lesen und zu sehen. --Durch jedes fremde Schicksal fühlte er sich gleichsam sich selbst entrissen, und fand nun in andern erst die Lebensflamme wieder, die in ihm selber durch den Druck von außen beinahe erloschen war. (p.336)

Reiser is not only attracted to the lives of fictional characters, but also wishes his own life to be different. One form of this is the idea of palingenesis: he wishes to shed his present miserable existence and reappear in a more noble form: "Er stellte sich vor, wie schön es sein würde, wenn er nach einigen Jahren in dem Andenken der Menschen, worin er nun gleichsam gestorben war, wieder aufleben, in einer edlern Gestalt vor ihnen erscheinen, und der düstere Zeitraum seiner Jugend alsdann vor der Morgenröte eines bessern Tages verschwinden würde" (p. 316). This aspect of Anton Reiser has been explored by Rudolf Unger,¹⁸¹ and Schrimpf as well observes that the palingenesis-wish should

be regarded "als Krankheitssymptom."¹⁸²

Like many who feel small and insignificant, Reiser has visions of being great and important. He imagines himself the master of an island like Schnabel's Felsenburg (p. 55), or as a wrathful Old Testament-style deity, meting out death and destruction to opposing 'armies' of yellow and white flowers (p. 52). As Boulby remarks, "Anton's readings of novels...encouraged in him the same thing his games tended to express, namely visions of authority and power, the classical accompaniment to a developing inferiority complex."¹⁸³

Counterbalancing the wish "einmal eine große Rolle in der Welt zu spielen" (p. 55), Reiser experiences, in his non-megalomaniac, more melancholy moods, an urge to assume a humble station in life, such as soldier or farmer. These moods nurture his self-pity: "...--wenn er sich nun als Bauer dachte, so glaubte er sich doch zu etwas Besserm bestimmt zu sein, und empfand über sein Schicksal wieder eine Art von tröstendem Mitleid mit sich selber" (p. 194).

Finally, at times Reiser imagines himself not as reborn, a character in a play, great or humble, but perceives only a sense of entrapment: "Daß er einen Tag wie alle Tage mit sich aufstehen, mit sich schlafen gehen--bei jedem Schritte sein verhaßtes Selbst mit sich fortschleppen mußte...Daß er nun unabänderlich er selbst

sein mußte, und kein anderer sein konnte; daß er in sich selber eingeengt, und eingebannt war--das brachte ihn nach und nach zu einem Grade der Verzweiflung...Als Iler wünschte er fortzuleben; als Mensch war ihm jeder Augenblick der Fortdauer seines Daseins unerträglich gewesen" (pp. 224-225).

Having identified Reiser's disease and its symptoms, the question arises: does Anton get better, and if so, how? Critics have called Anton Reiser an "Anti-Bildungsroman,"¹⁸⁴ and written, "Der Roman kennt keine Entwicklung, nicht einmal einen Helden im klassischen Sinne."¹⁸⁵ However, despite the fact that Reiser is subject to recurring periods of depression and doubt, the observant reader will find that the nadir of his fortunes occurs near the end of Book II, at which point Reiser, rejected by his classmates and followed by catcalls whenever he walks down the street, has fallen into masochistic self-neglect, refusing even to eat: "-Mit einer Art von schrecklichem Wohlbehagen, sahe er seinen Körper eben so gleichgültig wie seine Kleider von Tage zu Tage abfallen" (p. 195). Towards the beginning of Book III the narrator announces that Anton is beginning "eine neue Epoche seines Lebens" (p. 208), and in the same book he enjoys his moment of triumph, as he is chosen to read the visiting Queen of England an address on her birthday (p. 268). As Wuthenow notes, "Im 3. Teil werden dann die Phasen des Selbstbewußtseins entfaltet, in denen Anton Reiser über das Vernichtende seiner Lage hinauszuwachsen beginnt."¹⁸⁶

What makes possible this improvement of his fortunes? That Reiser was selected to read to the Queen is largely a result of his intellectual endeavors. He had earned the headmaster's respect, and with it the respect of his classmates, by learning to order his thoughts and compose poetry. Ironically, Reiser's reading mania contributes to his intellectual development. To be sure, Anton Reiser is primarily remembered, and rightly so, as a work which vividly illustrates the dangers of fiction. For Reiser attempts to lead his life as though it were a novel or play: "er taumelte ...über Berg und Tal--und wo er ging, da war sein Schauplatz unbegrenzt" (p. 319). But it should not be overlooked that in Anton Reiser Moritz also presents reading in a positive light. This first happens when Reiser's taste changes from novels and plays to "lauter wissenschaftliche Bücher" (p. 214), such as Gottsched's Philosophie. The philosophy itself, the narrator admits, may have been watered-down (durchwässert), but its importance is that it makes Reiser see the necessity of "eine leichte Übersicht aller philosophischen Wissenschaften" (p. 215). This helps Anton organize his thoughts, as the narrating self explains.

Sobald er dies [the necessity of a comprehensive view] merkte, nahm auch sein Eifer, die Sache bald zu übersehen, mit jedem Tage zu. -Er sah, daß das bloße Lesen nichts half--er fing also an, sich auf kleinen Blättchen schriftliche Tabellen zu entwerfen, wo er das Detail immer dem Ganzen gehörig unterordnete, und sich auf die Weise einen anschaulichen Begriff davon zu machen suchte.-

Das simple Abschreiben des Hauptinhalts brachte für ihn schon ein vorzügliches Interesse in die Sache--denn indem er nun das Blatt, auf welches er die in dem Buche enthaltenen Materialien niedergeschrieben hatte, beim Lesen des Buches vor sich hinlegte, erhielt er dadurch den Vorteil, daß er bei dem Einzelnen nie das Ganze aus den Augen verlor, welches doch beim philosophischen Denken immer ein Haupterfordernis ist, und auch die größte Schwierigkeit macht. (p. 215).

Although Reiser's positive reading experience begins with "wissenschaftliche Bücher," one should not assume that imaginative literature is always presented as a baneful influence. Rather, the narrator describes Reiser's staying up nights declaiming Shakespeare not as a withdrawal into an unreal fantasy realm, but as a way of overcoming his sense of isolation.

Diese Shakespearenächte gehören zu den angenehmsten Erinnerungen in Reisers Leben. -Aber wenn auch durch irgend etwas sein Geist gebildet wurde, so war es durch diese Lektüre, wogegen alles, was er sonst Dramatisches gelesen hatte, gänzlich in Schatten gesetzt und verdunkelt wurde. Selbst über seine äußern Verhältnisse lernte er sich auf eine edlere Art hinwegsetzen--selbst bei seiner Melancholie nahm seine Phantasie einen höheren Schwung.

Durch den Shakespeare war er durch die Welt der menschlichen Leidenschaften hindurchgeführt--der enge Kreis seines idealischen Daseins hatte sich erweitert--er lebte nicht mehr so einzeln und unbedeutend, daß er sich unter der Menge verlor--denn er hatte die Empfindungen Tausender beim Lesen des Shakespeare mit durchempfunden.- (p. 225)

Some of the language of these passages, such as "der enge Kreis seines idealischen Daseins," and the comment on the proper relationship of the part to the whole, bring the reader into contact with the central image complex of Anton Reiser. The major components of this complex are that images of smallness, narrowness, isolation and fragmentation carry strong negative connotations, while images of openness, wideness, wholeness and completion are presented as positive. This aspect of the work has been explicated by Langen, Boulby, and others.¹⁸⁷ Reiser's claustrophobic fears manifest themselves quite early, as a passage from Book I makes clear.

Wenn oft der Himmel umwölkt und der Horizont kleiner war, fühlte er eine Art von Bangigkeit, daß die ganze Welt wiederum mit eben so einer Decke umschlossen sei, wie die Stube, worin er wohnte, und wenn er dann mit seinen Gedanken über diese gewölbte Decke hinausging, so kam ihm diese Welt an sich viel zu klein vor, und es deuchte ihm, als müsse sie wiederum in einer andern eingeschlossen sein, und das immer so fort. (p. 59)

Later, during his school days, Hanover, with its narrow streets, becomes oppressive to him: "Alles schien ihm da so dicht, so klein in einander zu laufen, wie der zusammengedrückte Haufen Häuser, den er noch in der Fern sahe-..." (p. 231). In another passage, he returns to the same city after an outing: "-Da er nun die vier Türme wieder erblickte, die er schon unter so mancherlei verschiedenen Verhältnisse wieder gesehen hatte, so wan-

delte ihm diesmal aufs neue ein ängstliches Gefühl an, da er aus der weiten Welt nun wieder in diesen kleinen Umkreis aller seiner Verhältnisse und Verbindungen zurückkehren sollte." (pp. 282-283). The most striking passage of this type occurs in a village churchyard. Here the sense of smallness and narrowness assumes nightmarish proportions, and seems bent on pursuing Reiser to his grave.

Der Horizont war schon verdunkelt; der Himmel schien in der trüben Dämmerung allenthalben dicht auf zu liegen, das Gesicht wurde auf den kleinen Fleck Erde, den man um sich her sahe, begrenzt--das Winzige und Kleine des Dorfes, des Kirchhofes, und der Kirche tat auf Reisern eine sonderbare Wirkung - das Ende aller Dinge schien ihm in solch eine Spitze hinauszulaufen - der enge dumpfe Sarg war das letzte--hier hinter war nun nichts weiter--hier war die zugenagelte Bretterwand--die jedem Sterblichen den fernern Blick versagt. -Das Bild erfüllte Reisern mit Ekel--der Gedanke an dies Auslaufen in einer solchen Spitze, dies Aufhören ins enge, und noch engere, und immer engere--wo hinter nun nichts weiter mehr lag--trieb ihn mit schrecklicher Gewalt von dem winzigen Kirchhofe weg, und jagte ihn vor sich her, in der dunklen Nacht, als ob er dem Sarge, der ihn einzuschließen drohte, hätte entfliehen wollen. -Das Dorf mit dem Kirchhofe war ihm ein Anblick des Schreckens, so lange er es noch hinter sich sahe--auf dem Kirchhofe war ihm ein sonderbarer Schrecken angewandelt--was er so oft gewünscht hatte, schien ihm gewährt zu werden, das Grab schien seine Beute zu fordern, und noch stets, wo wie er flohe, hinter ihm seinen Schlund zu eröffnen--erst da er ein anderes Dorf erreichte, war er wieder ruhiger.- (pp. 303-304)

Such visions of narrowness and confinement, which present a world

that "terminates in a smallness without issue,"¹⁸⁸ contrast with visions of openness and wholeness, often in connection with nature. As Boulby observes, "Anton Reiser is a novel which, confined by and large in the first three parts to the labyrinthine streets and claustrophobic rooms and garrets of the poorer quarters of Brunswick and Hanover, opens out suddenly in the final part, 'der eigentliche Roman seines Lebens,' on to the highways of the wide world."¹⁸⁹ However, like his claustrophobic fears, images of nature in her more pleasant aspects have been with Anton since childhood.

Die Vorstellungen von den ersten Wiesen, die er sahe, von dem Kornfelde, das sich einen sanften Hügel hinanerstreckte, und oben mit grünem Gebüsch umkränzt war, von dem blauen Berge, und den einzelnen Gebüsch und Bäumen, die am Fuß desselben auf das grüne Gras ihren Schatten warfen, und immer dichter und dichter wurden, je höher man hinaufstieg, mischen sich noch immer unter seine angenehmsten Gedanken, und machen gleichsam die Grundlage aller der täuschenden Bilder aus, die oft seine Phantasie sich vormalt. (p. 41)

A later passage contrasts the confinement of the city with the openness and expansiveness of the country.

Sobald er aus dem Gewühle der Stadt war, und die Türme von H...hinter sich sah, bemächtigten sich seiner tausend abwechselnde Empfindungen. -Alles stellte sich ihm auf einmal aus einem andern Gesichtspunkte dar--er fühlte sich aus alle den kleinlichen Verhältnissen, die ihn in jener Stadt mit den vier Türmen, einengten, quälten, und drückten, auf einmal

in die große offene Natur versetzt, und atmete wieder freier--sein Stolz und Selbstgefühl strebte empor--sein Blick schärfte sich auf das, was hinter ihm lag, und faßte es in einem kleinen Umfange zusammen.- (p. 231)

Another passage, referring to walks in the countryside, even more clearly presents the beneficial effects of nature on Anton's psyche.

Dieser einsame Spaziergang war es, welcher Reisers Selbstgefühl erhöhte, seinen Gesichtskreis erweiterte, und ihm eine anschauliche Vorstellung von seinem eignen wahren, isolierten Dasein gab; das bei ihm auf eine Zeitlang an keine Verhältnisse mehr geknüpft war, sondern in sich und für sich selbst bestand.-

Indem er einen Blick auf das Ganze des menschlichen Lebens warf, lernte er zuerst das Große im Leben von dessen Detail unterscheiden. (p. 233)

However, it is not nature exclusively which affects Anton positively. Rather, it is the prospect of a comprehensive view. In the following passage, the individual lights from the houses of Hanover (as seen from the city wall) awaken "eine sonderbare demütigende Empfindung" (p. 220) that each person's life is "klein und unbedeutend" (p. 220). But paradoxically:

-Dann erhoben aber auch eben diese Lichter in den einzelnen Stuben in den Häusern am Walle, zuweilen seinen Geist wieder, wenn er einen Überblick des Ganzen daraus schöpfte, und sich

aus seiner eigenen kleinen einengenden Sphäre, wodurch er sich unter allen diesen im Leben unbemerkten und unausgezeichneten Bewohnern der Erde mitverlor, herausdachte, und sich ein besonderes ausgezeichnetes Schicksal prophezeite (pp. 220-221)

Obviously, the idea of synthesis, of parts integrated within a whole, is of great importance to Reiser--and to Moritz. (Unlike Schrimpf, who insists upon a "strenge Scheidung zwischen den Erfahrungen des Helden und dem Standpunkt des Autors,"¹⁹⁰ Boulby has observed that while this is by and large ~~true~~, there are times when the views of the protagonist and narrator appear to merge.)¹⁹¹ The opposite of a comprehensive view is the nightmarish prospect of atomization or fragmentation, of a universe of separate parts with no discernible relationship among them. Moritz's dread of such fragmentation is often expressed by the word zerstückt (or variants of it), which as Boulby notes is a key word in Anton Reiser.¹⁹² This is particularly true of a description of the grisly execution of some criminals. The image of dismemberment and the insignificance of the individual existence are inextricably linked in Anton's mind.

Einmal da vier Missetäter auf dem Rabensteine vor H...geköpft wurden, ging er unter der Menge von Menschen mit hinaus, und sahe nur vier darunter, welche aus der Zahl der übrigen ausgetilget und zerstückt werden sollten. -Dies kam ihm so klein, so unbedeutend vor, da der ihn umgebenden Menschenmasse noch so viel war--als ob ein Baum im Walde umgehauen, oder ein Ochse gefällt werden sollte.- Und da nun die Stücken

dieser hingerichteten Menschen auf das Rad hinaufgewunden wurden, und er sich selbst, und die um ihn her stehenden Menschen eben so zerstückbar dachte--so wurde ihm der Mensch so nichts-wert und unbedeutend, daß er sein Schicksal und alles in dem Gedanken von tierischer Zerstückbarkeit begrub---...Dann konnte er sich nicht enthalten, sich immer an den Platz der zerstückten und in Stücken auf das Rad gewundenen hingerichteten Missetäter zu stellen---... (p. 222)

Like the pieces of the criminals, the 'pieces' of mankind--its individuals--appear insignificant to Anton: "Und dann schien ihm aus der ungeheuren Menschenmasse wieder eine so ungeheure unförmliche Seelenmasse zu entstehen--wo er immer nicht einsahe, warum gerade so viel und nicht mehr und nicht weniger da wären, und weil die Zahl ins Unendliche fortzugehen schien, das einzelne endlich fast so unbedeutend wie n i c h t s wurde" (p. 223). His own existence appears "ohne Zweck, abgerissen, zerstückt" (p. 227).

Contrasting with this vision of an endless series of unrelated fragments is the prospect of escaping from the feeling of meaninglessness by perceiving some pattern of interrelationship among the disparate parts. Anton's first attempts to do this, undertaken while still an apprentice in Brunswick, are unsuccessful, for "the grip of the part precludes that freedom of vision which alone could embrace the whole."¹⁹³

Allein es war ihm noch nie gelungen, sein ganzes Leben in B...mit allen seinen mannigfaltigen Veränderungen in einen einzigen vollen Blick zusammen zu fassen. Der Ort, wo er sich jedesmal befand, erinnerte ihn immer zu stark an irgend einen einzelnen Teil desselben, als daß noch für das Ganze in seiner Denkkraft Platz gewesen wäre; er drehte sich mit seinen Vorstellungen immer in einem engen Zirkel seines Daseins herum.

Um von dem ganzen seines hiesigen Lebens ein anschauliches Bild zu haben, war es nötig, daß gleichsam alle die Fäden abgeschnitten wurden, die seine Aufmerksamkeit immer an das Momentane, Alltägliche und Zerstückte desselben hefteten.... (p. 99)

This passage, with its mention of "das Momentane" as inimical to a more comprehensive vision, implies the importance of memory for a sense of personal identity. There are occasions in Anton Reiser when time is presented as "an infinite succession of moments of servitude, which defy the formation of any whole and persisting self."¹⁹⁴ However, there are also passages in which memory is presented as a crucial factor in forging a sense of identity.

Nun fing er an, den Begriff des Individuums zu verfolgen, der ihm schon seit einigen Jahren, da er zuerst etwas von Logik gehört hatte, vorzüglich wichtig geworden war,--und da er nun endlich auf den höchsten Grad des Bestimmtheits von allen Seiten, und des vollkommen sich selbst gleich seins stieß--so war es ihm nach einigem Nachdenken, als ob er sich selbst entschwunden wäre--und sich erst in der Reihe seiner Erinnerungen an das Vergangene wieder suchen müßte. Er fühlte, daß sich das Dasein nur an der Kette dieser ununterbrochenen Erinnerungen festhielt.- (p. 227)

But on this occasion the sense of identity provided by the chain of memory proves to be tragically ephemeral. Reiser continues his train of thought on the individual and existence, carrying it perhaps a bit too far: "Die wahre Existenz schien ihm nur auf das eigentliche Individuum begrenzt zu sein--und außer einem ewig unveränderlichen, alles mit einem Blick umfassenden Wesen, konnte er sich kein wahres Individuum denken. Am Ende seiner Untersuchungen dünkte ihm sein eignes Dasein, eine bloße Täuschung, eine abstrakte Idee--ein Zusammenfassen der Ähnlichkeiten, die jeder folgende Moment in seinem Leben mit dem entschwundenen hatte" (p. 227). One is not surprised to learn that Anton's depressing metaphysical rumination is of mystical Quietist origin, as Eckehard Catholy has shown.¹⁹⁵ Catholy also notes how speculation of this nature directly conflicts with the individual's desire for a sense of self. Observing that this passage implies that "allein Gott hat Existenz," Catholy continues: "eine solche Entleerung des Ichs nun, die das eigentliche Ziel des quietistischen Glaubens war, muß auf die jugendliche Psyche im höchsten Masse zerstörerisch wirken, ist doch jeder kindlichen und jugendlichen Seele ein intensives Streben nach Ausbildung und Formung der eigenen Individualität immanent."¹⁹⁶

Fortunately, just as Anton's religiously-inspired longing for death did not triumph over "die natürliche Liebe zum Leben" (p. 95), this moment of philosophic speculation does not render him permanently incapable of moving beyond it. Rather, on the walls

of Erfurt the chain of memory enables him to overcome "das Momentane" (p. 99), and establish a comprehensive view of his own existence.

Wenn er auf den Wällen von Erfurt um die Stadt spazierenging, so fühlte er lebhaft, daß er durch eigne Anstrengung sich aus seinem unerträglichen Zustande gerissen, und seinen Standpunkt in der Welt aus eigener Kraft verändert hatte.

Wenn er dann die Glocken von Erfurt läuten hörte, so wurden allmählich alle seine Erinnerungen an das Vergangene rege- der gegenwärtige Moment beschränkte sein Dasein nicht- sondern er faßte alles das wieder mit, was schon verschwunden war.

Und dies waren die glücklichsten Momente seines Lebens, wo sein eigenes Dasein erst anfang, ihn zu interessieren, weil er es in einem gewissen Zusammenhange, und nicht einzeln und zerstückt betrachtete.

Das Einzelne, Abgerissene und Zerstückte in seinem Dasein, war es immer, was ihm Verdruß und Ekel erweckte. (p. 362)

One notices that these moments of insight often occur from a perspective of elevation, such as the city walls, first of Hanover and then of Erfurt, which facilitate an "Überblick des Ganzen" (p. 220). At one point Reiser climbs a tower, and while enjoying the view, feels "über sein Schicksal erhaben" (p. 348). Contrasting the failed attempt at insight in Brunswick with the successful one in Erfurt, Boulby explains the significance of elevation: "Anton Reiser is long unable to visualise 'his entire life in Brunswick...in a single, total vision,' essentially be-

cause of the grip of the moment of time and place which inhibits or precludes that freedom of vision which alone could so embrace it. But to see this labyrinth from above, 'spatially' laid out like a map or city, as one day begins to be possible on the walls of Erfurt, is tantamount to escaping from it."¹⁹⁷

Looking back upon the course of our discussion, we recall that there were three principle causes of Anton's "Mangel am Selbstgefühl": religious dogma, low social rank, and an inability to interact properly with people due to a sense of inferiority. Similarly, we have identified three contributory factors to Reiser's improved self-esteem and stronger sense of personal identity. First there is Anton's intellectual development, brought about by a more organized manner of reading, inspired first by "wissenschaftliche Bücher." Secondly there is his striving for a more complete view of life, which finds its expression particularly in several city wall scenes, in which visions of integration contrast with nightmarish images of smallness, insignificance, and fragmentation presented elsewhere. Finally there is the importance of memory, which provides the individual with a "Kette der Erinnerung". The chain of memory, which by linking past and present and perceiving (or creating) a relationship between the two, overcomes the sense of fragmentation which results when time is perceived only as a succession of unrelated moments. Needless to say, Reiser still has his moments of doubt and despair. His "Neigung zur Schwermut" (p. 281) never leaves

him, and in Reiser's violently alternating moods Boulby discerns signs of what today would be called manic depression.¹⁹⁸ But upon occasion, as we have just witnessed in the scene on the wall of Erfurt, Anton is able to see the various experiences of life "in einem gewissen Zusammenhange," thus rising above "das Einzelne, Abgerissene und Zerstückte." The triumph of memory over time is presented through imagery of elevation: Reiser is no longer down in the narrow and labyrinthine cities in which much of his life has been spent, but "über sein Schicksal erhaben." In all three of the elements contributing to the establishment of Reiser's sense of self we can find the importance of relating the part to a greater whole. The ability to move beyond the isolated detail improves his reading, his view of the individual within society, and finally allows him to establish a sense of identity through the synthesizing agent of memory. The relationship of the part to the whole, and particularly the idea of a work of art as a perfect whole complete within itself, is also the cornerstone of Moritz's aesthetic thought.¹⁹⁹

Critics have been aware of the significance of memory in Anton Reiser. In reference to Reiser's moments of insight Erdmann Waniek writes, "Against the crushing experience of chance and fragmentation Moritz holds up the epiphany of the significant moment that captures 'das Ganze des menschlichen Lebens.'" ²⁰⁰ And they have not ignored the crucial importance of memory for the development of Reiser's sense of individuality. Wuthenow

states this clearly, although he is aware of Reiser's vacillating moods: "aus dem Festhalten an der Kette der Erinnerung, die keine Brüche mehr zeigt, entwickelt sich die Autobiographie, die nun den Begriff der Individualität gefunden hat, um ihn wieder zu verlieren und dann neuerdings einzuholen."²⁰¹ And Müller notes that for Moritz individuality is predicated on historical development, not philosophical concepts of the state of being: "Es ist aufschlußreich, daß sich das Individualitätsproblem aus dem ontologischen in den historischen Bereich verschiebt, insofern daß das Ich sich nicht als in sich ruhende Substanz zu erfahren vermag, sondern 'sein Dasein nur an der Kette (der) ununterbrochenen Erinnerungen' festmachen kann."²⁰² In Anton Reiser, the only one of our autobiographies to discuss individuality directly, the striving towards wholeness and comprehensive vision, and the role of memory in this process, have proven to be of critical importance.

Finally, in concluding our remarks on Anton Reiser, a word must be said about the positive contribution of Pietism to this autobiography. Its disastrous effect on the psyche of the young Anton has of course already been discussed. And with its concern for the smallest nuances of human behavior, it must have contributed to the welter of detail which threatened to overwhelm the young Moritz/Reiser before he was able to rescue himself by means of a wider perspective. But if Pietism was to a great extent responsible for the disease, within it also lay the seeds of the cure.

As Boulby writes, "If the Pietists and their fraternity were responsible for warping the boy's early development, it was also paradoxically the self-observation of their praxis pietatis, 'noting every step, every smile, every expression and every word,' which provided the basis of his self-understanding."²⁰³ And Dorothee Sölle notes that while discarding their beliefs, Moritz loses nothing of the Pietist sternness: "Ohne die in pietistischen Kreisen entwickelte Selbstbeobachtung, die zunächst eingeübt wurde, um das Ich seines eigenen Glaubens gewiß zu machen und die Aufmerksamkeit auf die kleinen Zufälle des Alltags zu lenken, wäre die Moritzsche Aufrichtigkeit undenkbar: die Selbstprüfung, die später in säkularer Form vollzogen wird, steht unter dem gleichen absoluten Anspruch."²⁰⁴ Pietism, with its emphasis on rejection of the self and devotion to God, nearly extinguishes Reiser's respect for his own individual existence. Yet at the same time, through its emphasis on self-observation it allows him to move slowly towards a new perception of his individuality, a sense of the self which is his own and non-Pietist, yet indebted to Pietist habits of thought.

Summary

The authors of the preceding chapter (Laukhard, Maimon, and Seume), it has been argued, can be viewed as sharing the common denominator of the Enlightenment emphasis on reason. Similarly, it is possible to view the authors of the present chapter as in-

fluenced, to varying degrees and in greatly differing ways, by Pietism and the concern with the individual and personal psychology which it helped foster. This is true even for the brazenly heretical Bahrdt. But Pietism and psychology, which Bräker and Moritz employ as tools for examining the self more thoroughly, are used by Bahrdt only in an ironic and satirical way, which actually deflects from self-examination. The vocabulary of Pietism is employed parodistically, in connection with Bahrdt's conversion away from revealed religion, and he refrains from turning Pietistic introspection upon himself. Rather, largely false but imaginative and convincing patterns of motivation and action are liberally bestowed on his clinging wife and other people who interfere with his willful behavior. The wellsprings of his own motivation are seldom examined. However, in the discussion of the events which drove him from the orthodox camp, he does demonstrate some awareness of his basically adversarial nature. Unlike Laukhard, Maimon, and Seume, Bahrdt does not attempt to reduce himself to one 'essential' character trait, but presents himself through the triad of Leichtsinn, Dreistigkeit, and Feuer. This autobiography, while the least penetrating of those discussed in this chapter, nevertheless goes beyond the role or single characteristic-oriented presentations of the preceding groups.

Bräker, on the other hand, makes a sincere attempt at self-examination, but is not entirely successful. His autobiography, while

not unstructured, reveals discrepancies between the narrative portions and the sections of direct self-characterization, especially in the account of his over-active imagination. Of particular interest in this autobiography is the author's willingness to discuss, albeit with some reserve, the sensual dimension of human life, a matter conspicuously ignored by Karl Philipp Moritz, as Boulby has observed.²⁰⁵

But despite this omission, Moritz's presentation of the self is more thorough and coherent than that of Bräker. In Bräker's autobiography the chain of memory is strong enough only for nostalgia. That is, Bräker informs the reader that thinking about the years of his youth provides him pleasure (I, p. 305), and that these years seem more real than much of his later life (I, p. 249). But the present and the past are not connected by the author. The happy past appears lost forever, replaced by an unhappy present of overwhelming immediacy. At no time could Bräker have written of himself, as Moritz does of Reiser, "der gegenwärtige Moment beschränkte sein Dasein nicht--sondern er faßte alles das wieder mit, was schon entschwunden war" (p. 362). Only in Anton Reiser is the chain of memory presented in its crucial role of transcending 'das Momentane' and establishing a meaningful relationship between the past and the present self. Memory is presented as more than just recalling past events. By selecting from and perceiving patterns among life's disparate

experiences, the type of memory described by Moritz confers upon individual existence at least the possibility of coherence and intelligibility.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER IV

1 Weintraub, "Autobiography and Historical Consciousness," p. 839.

2 Lyons, The Invention of the Self, p. 70.

3 Mark Boulby, Karl Philipp Moritz: at the Fringe of Genius (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), p. 69: "He was becoming a figure of some importance, and was now taken seriously by eminent men, though his shadow life, his tramp life, nagged at him continually."

4 Sten Gunnar Flygt, The Notorious Dr. Bahrdt (Nashville: Vanderbilt, 1963), p. 330, p. 332, p. 342, refers to various nineteenth-century literary historians who employed the epithet 'berüchtigt.' "Verschrien" occurs in the article on Bahrdt in the Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie ed. Historical Commission of the Royal Academy of Sciences (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1875), vol. 1, p. 722.

5 Gustav Frank, "Dr. Karl Friedrich Bahrdt. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Aufklärung," Rauers Historisches Taschenbuch, Folge 4, 7 (1866), p. 212.

6 Karl Friedrich Bahrdt, "Abgenöthigte Vertheidigung gegen ein unüberlegtes und widerrechtliches Responsum der wittenberger Theologen" (Erfurt, 1770), quoted in Frank, "Dr. Karl Friedrich Bahrdt," p. 221.

7 Title quoted in Flygt, The Notorious Dr. Bahrdt, p. 361, and Frank, "Dr. Karl Friedrich Bahrdt," p. 235.

8 Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, Sämtliche Schriften, ed. Karl Lachmann and Franz Muncker (Leipzig: Göschen, 1897), vol. 13, p. 143.

9 Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Werke (Weimar edition), pt. I, vol. 16, p. 107.

10 Goethe, Werke, pt. I, vol. 37, p. 252.

11 "Bahrdt," in the Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, vol. 1, p. 723. (The passage quoted paraphrases Bahrdt's explanation of these phenomena.)

12 Frank, "Dr. Karl Friedrich Bahrdt," p. 279.

13 Bruce Barton, The Man Nobody Knows (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1925), quoted in Frederick Lewis Allen, Only Yesterday: an informal History of the Nineteen-twenties (New York: Harper Brothers, 1931), p. 180.

14 Friedrich Christian Laukhard, Leben und Schicksale, quoted in Frank, "Dr. Karl Friedrich Bahrdt," p. 340.

15 Flygt, The Notorious Dr. Bahrdt, p. 328: "It is interesting to note that while Bahrdt was considered important enough to merit two articles, with a total of 328 pages, Mozart, who had died the previous year, was accorded only about thirty pages."

16 Robert Prutz, "Karl Friedrich Bahrdt. Ein Lebensbild," Raumers Historisches Taschenbuch, Folge 3, 1 (1850), p. 602: "Die Erneuerung und Verbreitung der philosophischen Studien, die eben in diese neunziger Jahre fällt, und die dadurch hervorgerufene principielle Umgestaltung aller Wissenschaften, insbesondere auch der Theologie, einerseits, sowie andererseits das Hereinbrechen jener ungeheuersten Weltbegebenheiten, die zu derselben Zeit auch Deutschland mehr und mehr erfaßten, machten jener beschränkten Art der Aufklärung, wie Bahrdt sie verbreitet hatte, ...ein so rasches wie nothwendiges Ende....So kommt es, daß, bevor noch das Jahrhundert völlig zu Ende geht, schon jede Erinnerung an Bahrdt verschollen ist; noch ehe sein Hügel eingefallen, ist es schon als hätte dieser so vielberufene Mann niemals gelebt."

17 Flygt, The Notorious Dr. Bahrdt, p. 328: "G. G. Gervinus's interest in Bahrdt is more literary than moral or theological. In his book, written in 1841,...."

18 G. G. Gervinus, Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung (Leipzig: Engelmann, 1874), vol. 5, p. 290.

19 Gervinus, Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung, p. 293.

20 Gervinus, Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung, p. 293.

21 Prutz, "Karl Friedrich Bahrdt. Ein Lebensbild," p. 608.

22 Prutz, "Karl Friedrich Bahrdt. Ein Lebensbild," p. 609.

23 Prutz, "Karl Friedrich Bahrdt. Ein Lebensbild," p. 609.

24 Prutz, "Karl Friedrich Bahrdt. Ein Lebensbild," p. 613.

25 Prutz, "Karl Friedrich Bahrdt. Ein Lebensbild," p. 614.

26 Frank, "Dr. Karl Friedrich Bahrdt. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Aufklärung," Raumers Historisches Taschenbuch, Folge 4, 7 (1866), pp. 203-370.

27 Hermann Hettner, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im achtzehnten Jahrhundert (Leipzig: Paul List Verlag, 1928), p. 180. (Hettner's monumental work was originally published 1856-1870.)

28 Erich Schmidt, Lessing. Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Schriften (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1899), vol. 2, p. 255.

29 Felix Hasselberg, "Nachwort," to Dr. Carl Friedrich Bahrdt. Geschichte seines Lebens, seiner Meinungen und Schicksale, ed. Felix Hasselberg (Berlin: Dom-Verlag, 1922), p. 534. References to Bahrdt's autobiography will be from this edition, and page numbers will be given in the text.

30 Flygt, The Notorious Dr. Bahrdt, p. 22.

31 Flygt, The Notorious Dr. Bahrdt, p. 175.

32 Flygt, The Notorious Dr. Bahrdt, p. 31.

33 Flygt, The Notorious Dr. Bahrdt, p. 196.

34 Helmut de Boor and Richard Newald, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1973), vol. 6, pt. 1, p. 137.

35 For example, Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, pp. 221-241, or Neumann, Identität und Rollenzwang, pp. 85-86.

36 For example, Baldur Schyra, "Goethes Verhältnis zu Carl Friedrich Bahrdt," Jahrbuch der Goethe-Gesellschaft, Neue Folge, 27 (1965), pp. 193-204.

37 Herbert Koch, "Rindvigius," Gutenberg Jahrbuch, 42 (1967), pp. 178-182.

38 Günter Mühlpfordt, "Karl Friedrich Bahrdt und die radikale Aufklärung," Jahrbuch des Instituts für deutsche Geschichte, 5 (1976), p. 49.

39 Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, ed. Hans-Günther Thalheim, et. al. (Berlin: Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, 1978), vol. 7, p. 299: "...die Bücher aufrechter Demokraten wie Adolph von Knigge oder Karl-Friedrich [sic] Bahrdt."

40 Günter Mühlpfordt, "Karl Friedrich Bahrdt und die radikale Aufklärung," p. 50: "Jede Revolution hatte ihre Propheten. Luther sagte die Jahre 1524-26 voraus. Karl Marx sah die Revolution von 1848/49 kommen. Karl F. Bahrdt prophezeite 1788 die nahende Revolutionsepoche: Ein Jahr vor der Revolution kündigte Bahrdt im 'Operationsplan' seines radikal-aufklärerischen Geheimbunds 'Deutsche Union' 'große bevorstehende Revolutionen' an. Er erhoffte von diesen 'Revolutionen,' daß sie 'der Menschheit eine neue Gestalt geben' würden." This is a gross misrepresentation and is taken out of context. Bahrdt is by no means attempting to predict the future, but in this passage is only referring to the beneficial effects for mankind of the secret society which he wishes to establish.

41 Birgit Dombeck, Linguistische Untersuchungen zur Sprache moralischbelehrender Schriften Karl Friedrich Bahrds unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der soziolinguistischen Aspekte eines radikalen Aufklärers, Diss. Leipzig, 1983.

42 Hettner, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im achtzehnten Jahrhundert, p. 181.

43 Flygt, The Notorious Dr. Bahrdt, p. 143.

44 Flygt, The Notorious Dr. Bahrdt, p. 175, quotes a letter in which this friend, Heres, reproaches Bahrdt for his conduct.

45 Flygt, The Notorious Dr. Bahrdt, p. 175: "But however indirect may have been Bahrdt's responsibility for this part of the affair [the abandonment of the two illegitimate children], ...it does not exculpate him either as a professor of Christian ethics or as a human being."

46 Karl Goedeke, Grundriß zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung, ed. Edmund Goetze, 3rd ed., rev. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1916), vol. 4, pt. 1, p. 811.

47 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 226.

48 The most important polemics against Bahrdt's autobiography mentioned by Müller are: Degenhardt Pott, Leben, Meynungen und Schicksale D. Carl Friedrich Bahrds aus Urkunden gezogen (Leipzig: Walther, 1790); Georg Gottfried Volland, Beiträge und Erläuterungen zu Herrn Doctor Carl Friedrich Bahrds Lebensbeschreibung, die er selbst verfertigt (Jena: In der akademischen Buchhandlung, 1791); Friedrich Christian Laukhart, Beyträge und Berichtigungen zu Karl Friedrich Bahrds Lebensbeschreibung in Briefen eines Pfälzers (n. p. 1791); Anon., Freimüthige Briefe über Doktor Bahrds eigne Lebensbeschreibung (Berlin und Leipzig: n. p. 1791). Of these only Pott's discussion of Bahrdt was available to me.

- 49 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 230.
- 50 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 225.
- 51 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 237.
- 52 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 238.
- 53 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 238.
- 54 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 229.
- 55 Bahrdt, in the first paragraph of his autobiography, points out that he is writing for posterity as well as for contemporaries, and expresses the belief that posterity will be the more impartial: "Mit dem Abfluß des halben Jahrhunderts von meiner Lebenszeit beginne ich, liebe Zeitgenossen, Ihnen die Geschichte meiner Schicksale und Meinungen, meiner Freuden und Leiden, meiner Torheiten und meiner Verdienste zu entwerfen und vor Ihrem und dem noch unparteiischen Richterstuhle der Nachwelt dieselbe niederzulegen" (p. 5).
- 56 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 240.
- 57 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 240.
- 58 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 240.
- 59 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 242.
- 60 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 231.
- 61 Flygt, The Notorious Dr. Bahrdt, p. 41.
- 62 Leben und Schriften Ulrich Bräkers, des Armen Mannes im Tockenburg, 3 vols., ed. Samuel Voellmy (Basel: Verlag Birkhäuser, 1945), I, p. 83. All further references to the Lebensgeschichte and other works of Bräker will be to this edition, and volume and page numbers will be given within the text.
- 63 Peter Hacks, Theaterstücke [Das Volksbuch vom Herzog Ernst, Eröffnung des indischen Zeitalters, Die Schlacht bei Lobositz] (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 1957).

64 Samuel Voellmy, Lieblingslektüre Ulrich Bräkers des Armen Mannes im Tockenburg 1735-1798 (Basel: Verlag Birkhäuser, 1975), p. 17: "Noch 1768 versenkt er sich in mystisch-pietistische Lektüre, Gefühle und Gedanken. Er ist von tiefem Ernst um sein eigenes und das Seelenheil seiner Angehörigen angerufen. Wenn...das Jahr 1774 etwa das Ende dieser ersten religiösen Haltung anführt, ist die Wandlung doch unter nachweisbaren Einflüssen allmählich erfolgt, ja man darf feststellen, sie ist nie ganz ausgereift."

65 Voellmy, Lieblingslektüre, pp. 47-52.

66 Eduard von Bülow, ed., Der arme Mann im Tockenburg (Leipzig: G. Wigand, 1853), and Adolf von Wilbrandt, ed., Das Leben und die Abenteuer des armen Mannes im Tockenburg, von ihm selber erzählt (Berlin: Meyer und Jessen, 1910).

67 Gustav Freytag, Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit, 2 vols. (Berlin: Verlag von Th. Knaur Nachfolgern, 1927), II, pp. 654-666. This work originally appeared in five volumes 1859-1867.

68 Heinrich Kurz, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1861), III, p. 632.

69 Fritz Ernst, Studien zur europäischen Literatur (Zürich: Verlag der neuen Schweizer Rundschau, 1930), p. 68.

70 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 174.

71 Walter Hinderer, "Ulrich Bräker," in Deutsche Dichter des 18ten Jahrhunderts, ed. Benno von Wiese (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1977), p. 378.

72 Werner Günther, "Nachwort," in Ulrich Bräker, Lebensgeschichte und natürliche Ebenteuer des Armen Mannes im Tockenburg, ed. Werner Günther (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1965), p. 250.

73 Hans Mayer, "Aufklärer und Plebejer: Ulrich Bräker, Der Arme Mann im Tockenburg," in Hans Mayer, Von Lessing bis Thomas Mann (Pfullingen: Neske, 1959), p. 119.

74 Hans-Günther Thalheim, "Einleitung," in Bräkers Werke in einem Band, ed. Hans-Günther Thalheim (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 1966), p. 30.

75 Hans-Günther Thalheim, "Einleitung," p. 32.

76 Derek Bowman, "Introduction," in Ulrich Bräker, The Life Story and Real Adventures of the Poor Man in Toggenburg, trans. Derek Bowman (Edinburgh: University Press, 1970), p. 8, p. 7, p. 11.

77 Samuel Voellmy, "Zur Einführung," in Leben und Schriften Ulrich Bräkers, des Armen Mannes im Toggenburg, 3 vols. ed. Samuel Voellmy (Basel: Verlag Birkhäuser, 1945), I, p. 12.

78 See Paul Widmer, "Ein ländlicher Aufklärer. Zum 250. Geburtstag von Ulrich Bräker," Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 22. Dez. 1985, pp. 40-41; Urs Kälin, "'Dieses subtile unruhige Ich.' Zur Chronik Ulrich Bräker," Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 22. Dez. 1985; Peter Morf, "Zur Aktualität Ulrich Bräkers. Ein Hinweis auf Publikationen," Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 11. Dez. 1985; Walter Hinderer, "Der arme Mann aus dem Toggenburg. Zum 250. Geburtstag Ulrich Bräkers," Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 22. Dez. 1985, p. 28.

79 Ch. Holliger, C. Holliger-Wiesmann, H. Graber and K. Pestalozzi, eds., Chronik Ulrich Bräker: auf Grund der Tagebücher 1770-1798 (Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1985); Ulrich Bräker, Was gehen mich eure Kriege an?, ed. Hermann Kippel (Munich: Pressler Verlag, 1985); Holger Bönig, Ulrich Bräker. Der Arme Mann aus dem Toggenburg. Leben, Werk und Zeitgeschichte (Königstein: Athenäum, 1985).

80 Widmer, "Ein ländlicher Aufklärer," p. 40.

81 The author of the article in which Bräker is presented as a man of moderation, Paul Widmer, is with the Swiss Embassy in Washington.

82 Hans Mayer, "Aufklärer und Plebejer," p. 121.

83 Walter Hinderer, "Ulrich Bräker," p. 375.

84 Werner Günther, "Nachwort," p. 249.

85 Hans-Günther Thalheim, "Einleitung," p. 28.

86 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 92.

87 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 94.

88 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, pp. 175-176.

89 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 176.

90 Niggel, Geschichte, p. 82.

91 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 173: "Daß ihm sein Leben überhaupt für eine 'Erzählung' geeignet schien, folgt aus dem Abenteuer des preußischen Dienstes, das neben den Kindheitserinnerungen und einer unschuldigen Liebesromanze den romanhaften Stoff des Buches bildet."

- 92 Niggli, Geschichte, p. 83.
- 93 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 177.
- 94 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 177.
- 95 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 178.
- 96 Ulrich Bräker, Was gehen mich eure Kriege an?, ed. Hermann Kippel (Munich: Pressler Verlag, 1985).
- 97 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 174.
- 98 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 182, summarizes Bräker's attitude towards Rousseau: "Aber...von Rousseau distanziert er sich: eine Beichte vor Gott ist angesichts von dessen Allwissenheit unnötig und ein unparteiliches Urteil der Menschen erwartet er ohnehin nicht: ihm fehlt das Vertrauen in die Möglichkeit einer objektiven Beurteilung, die er für seine Geschichte so wenig erwartet wie für eine etwaige Beichte nach Rousseaus Vorbild. Das ist eine souveräne Kritik des bürgerlichen Autodidakten an einem der berühmtesten Schriftsteller seiner Zeit, die implizit auch das Selbstbewußtsein als Autobiograph artikuliert."
- 99 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 183.
- 100 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 175.
- 101 Holger Böning, Ulrich Bräker. Der Arme Mann aus dem Toggenburg. Leben, Werk und Zeitgeschichte (Königstein: Athenäum, 1985), p. 23.
- 102 Mark Boulby, Karl Philipp Moritz: at the Fringe of Genius (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), p. 11: "Separatists did not usually send their children to school, but Anton was permitted by his father to attend a privately held class in Latin." (In future references this work will be referred to as At the Fringe of Genius, to avoid confusion with Schrimpf's monograph entitled Karl Philipp Moritz.)
- 103 Boulby, At the Fringe of Genius, p. 66: "In 1780 Moritz was appointed Conrector at the Berlinische Gymnasium..." and p. 68: "Moritz was to take one step further in the school hierarchy, returning to the Graue Kloster (from the Kölnische Gymnasium) in 1784, when promoted to professor."

- 104 Gerhard Sauder, "'Reisen eines Deutschen in England im Jahr 1782': Karl Philipp Moritz," in 'Der curieuse Passagier': deutsche Englandreisende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts als Vermittler kultureller und technologischer Anregungen, Colloquium der Arbeitsstelle 18. Jahrhundert Gesamthochschule Wuppertal (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1983), p. 94.
- 105 Hans Joachim Schrimpf, Karl Philipp Moritz, Sammlung Metzler 195 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1980), p. 17.
- 106 Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Werke, IV, vol. 8, p. 94.
- 107 Boulby, At the Fringe of Genius, p. 151: "This little publication ["Über die bildende Nachahmung des Schönen"] may also be regarded as the only systematic statement made of what has been called Goethe's 'Roman aesthetic,' but Goethe's influence upon it, though decisive, does not deprive its author of all claim to originality, and on the balance Auerbach's recognition that the work was essentially Moritz's own must be upheld."
- 108 Boulby, At the Fringe of Genius, p. 151.
- 109 Boulby, At the Fringe of Genius, p. 29.
- 110 Boulby, At the Fringe of Genius, p. 214: "Famous at last, indeed a name to conjure with, he remained the object of envy and also ridicule,..." For admiration, p. 208: "'Take me to Moritz,' I [Nicolai Karamsin, Russian traveller in Berlin] said to my servant today. 'Who's Moritz?' 'Who's Moritz? Philipp Moritz, the writer, the philosopher, the pedagogue, the psychologist.' There may have been some who really thought him a polymath" [comments Boulby].
- 111 Schrimpf, Karl Philipp Moritz, p. 19: "Jean Paul bewahrt ihm seine Verehrung, kennzeichnet ihn 1804 in 'Vorschule der Aesthetik' als 'Grenz-Genie,' und will eine Ausgabe seiner Werke mitveranstalten..."
- 112 Jean Paul, Vorschule der Aesthetik, ed. Norbert Miller (München: Carl Hanser, 1963), p. 54.
- 113 Heinrich Heine, Reisebilder, in Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke (Düsseldorf: Hoffmann und Campe, 1973), vol. 6, p. 145.
- 114 Schrimpf, Karl Philipp Moritz, p. 20.
- 115 Willibald Alexis, "Anton Reiser," Litterarhistorisches Taschenbuch, 5 (1847), pp. 1-71.

116 Karl Philipp Moritz, Anton Reiser. Ein psychologischer Roman, ed. Ludwig Geiger (Heilbronn: Henniger, 1886), foreword, p. IV.

117 Karl Philipp Moritz, Über die bildende Nachahmung des Schönen, ed. Sigmund Auerbach (Stuttgart: Göschen, 1888).

118 Max Dessoir, Karl Philipp Moritz als Aesthetiker (Naumburg: H. Sieling, 1889).

119 Hugo Eybisch, Anton Reiser. Untersuchungen zur Lebensgeschichte von Karl Philipp Moritz und zur Kritik seiner Autobiographie (Leipzig: R. Voigtländer, 1909). Later commentators have agreed with Eybisch's contention that Anton Reiser tells the story of Moritz's own youth, among them August Langen: "'Anton Reiser' ist der Schnittpunkt von Autobiographie und Roman, d. h. die in ihm mitgeteilten biographischen Tatsachen entsprechen nach Eybischs...Nachweis im wesentlichen dem tatsächlichen Lebensgang des Verfassers." (August Langen, "Karl Philipp Moritz' Weg zur symbolischen Dichtung," rpt. in August Langen, Gesammelte Studien zur neueren deutschen Sprache und Literatur, ed. Karl Richter [Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1978], p. 160.)

120 Fritz Brüggemann, Die Ironie als entwicklungsgeschichtliches Moment. Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte der deutschen Romantik (Jena: Eugen Diedrichs, 1909), pp. 130-334.

121 Melitta Gerhard, Der deutsche Entwicklungsroman bis zu Goethes 'Wilhelm Meister' (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1926), 124: "Man hat den 'Anton Reiser' als unmittelbares Glied der Geschichte des Entwicklungsromans in Anspruch nehmen wollen. Ihn als solches zu werten hindert uns schon seine fragmentarische Gestalt. Nur mit der Exposition eines Entwicklungsromans könnten wir es hier zu tun haben."

122 Robert Minder, Die religiöse Entwicklung von Karl Philipp Moritz auf Grund seiner autobiographischen Schriften (Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt, 1936), rpt. as Glaube, Skepsis und Rationalismus (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1974).

123 Schrimpf, Karl Philipp Moritz, p. 67.

124 Rudolf Unger, "Zur seelengeschichtlichen Genesis der Romantik. Karl Philipp Moritz als Vorläufer von Jean Paul und Novalis," in Rudolf Unger, Zur Dichtungs- und Geistesgeschichte der Goethezeit. Gesammelte Studien (Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt, 1944; rpt. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966), pp. 144-180.

- 125 Eckehard Catholy, Karl Philipp Moritz und die Ursprünge der deutschen Theaterleidenschaft (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1962). (This work was originally a 1950 dissertation at the University of Göttingen.)
- 126 Ruth Ghisler, Gesellschaft und Gottesstaat. Studien zum 'Anton Reiser' (Winterthur: Keller, 1955).
- 127 Arno Schmidt, "Die Schreckensmänner," in Dya Na Sore (Karlsruhe: Stahlberg, 1958); rpt. in Arno Schmidt, Nachrichten von Bücher und Menschen. Zur Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts (Hamburg: Fischer, 1971), p. 149.
- 128 Paul Frank Proskauer, The Phenomenon of Alienation in the Work of Karl Philipp Moritz, Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder and in 'Nachtwachen' von Bonaventura, Diss. Columbia University, 1966.
- 129 Josef Grolimund, Das Menschenbild in den autobiographischen Schriften Karl Philipp Moritz' (Zürich: Druck, 1967).
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- 134 Dorothee Sölle, Realisation. Studien zum Verhältnis von Theologie und Dichtung nach der Aufklärung (Darmstadt: Luchterhand, 1973), pp. 107-167.
- 135 Josef Fürnkäs, Der Ursprung des psychologischen Romans. Karl Philipp Moritz' 'Anton Reiser' (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1977). The characterization of Fürnkäs' book as treating Anton Reiser "als geschichtsphilosophisches und als Form-Problem" is from Schrimpf, Karl Philipp Moritz, p. 74.
- 136 Mark Boulby, Karl Philipp Moritz: At the Fringe of Genius (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979).
- 137 Schrimpf, Karl Philipp Moritz, p. 145.
- 138 Hans Joachim Schrimpf, Karl Philipp Moritz. Sammlung Metzler, 195 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1980).

139 Peter Rau, Identitätserinnerung und ästhetische Rekonstruktion: Studien zum Werk von Karl Philipp Moritz (Frankfurt: R. G. Fischer, 1983).

140 For example, Erdmann Waniek, "Karl Philipp Moritz's Concept of the Whole in his 'Versuch einer Vereinigung...' (1785)," Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture, 12 (1983), pp. 213-222, and Martha Woodmansee, "The Interest of Disinterestedness: Karl Philipp Moritz and the Emergence of the Theory of Aesthetic Autonomy in Eighteenth-Century Germany," Modern Language Quarterly, 45 (1984), pp. 22-47.

141 For instance, see the studies of Ulrich Hubert, Karl Philipp Moritz und die Anfänge der Romantik (Frankfurt: Athenäum, 1971), and Rudolf Unger, "Zur seelengeschichtlichen Genesis der Romantik. Karl Philipp Moritz als Vorläufer von Jean Paul und Novalis," in his Zur Dichtungs- und Geistesgeschichte der Goethezeit. Gesammelte Studien (Berlin: Juncker und Dünhaupt, 1944; rpt. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchhandlung, 1966).

142 For instance, the studies of Robert Minder, Glaube, Skepsis und Rationalismus (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1974), and Eckehard Catholy, Karl Philipp Moritz und die Ursprünge der deutschen Theaterleidenschaft (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1962).

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144 August Langen, "Karl Philipp Moritz' zur symbolischen Dichtung," Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, 81 (1962), pp. 169-218 and 402-440, rpt. in August Langen, Gesammelte Studien zur neueren deutschen Sprache und Literatur, ed. Karl Richter (Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1978), pp. 153-237).

145 Langen, "Karl Philipp Moritz' Weg zur symbolischen Dichtung," p. 160.

146 Hans Joachim Schrimpf, "Moritz. 'Anton Reiser,'" in Der deutsche Roman, ed. Benno von Wiese (Düsseldorf: August Bagel, 1963), I, pp. 95-131. "Anti-Bildungsroman" appears on p. 120.

147 Mark Boulby, "Anton Reiser and the Concept of the Novel," Lessing Yearbook, IV (1972), pp. 183-196.

148 Boulby, "Anton Reiser and the Concept of the Novel," p. 194.

149 Mark Boulby, "The Gates of Brunswick: Some Aspects of Symbol, Structure and Theme in Karl Philipp Moritz's Anton Reiser," Modern Language Review, 68 (1973), pp. 105-114.

- 150 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 167.
- 151 Jan Wolter, "Ästhetisches Naturerlebnis und Theorie des Schönen bei Karl Philipp Moritz," Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, 97 (1978), p. 596.
- 152 William G. Durden, "Parallel Designs: Space, Time and Being in Karl Philipp Moritz's Anton Reiser," Germanic Review, 54 (1979), pp. 67-71.
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- 154 Davies, "The Theme of Communication in Anton Reiser....," p. 38.
- 155 Heinrich Kaulen, "Erinnertes Leid. Karl Philipp Moritz: 'Anton Reiser,'" Literatur in Wissenschaft und Unterricht, 15 (1982), p. 155.
- 156 Helmut Pfotenhauer, "'Des ganzen Lebens anschauliches Bild:' Autobiographik und Symbol bei Karl Philipp Moritz," Jahrbuch des Wiener Goethe-Vereins, 87 (1983), pp. 325-337.
- 157 David Garlick, Novel or Autobiography: An Interpretation of K. P. Moritz's 'Anton Reiser' and the Problem of its Generic Identity, Diss. Stanford University, 1973.
- 158 Kaulen, "Erinnertes Leid," p. 139.
- 159 Karl Philipp Moritz, Anton Reiser. Ein psychologischer Roman in Karl Philipp Moritz, Werke, 3 vols. ed. Horst Günther (Frankfurt: Insel, 1981), vol. I, p. 36. All further references to Anton Reiser will be to this volume, and the page number will be given in the text.
- 160 Boulby, "Anton Reiser and the Concept of the Novel," p. 195, footnote 12.
- 161 Boulby, At the Fringe of Genius, p. 36.
- 162 Boulby, "Anton Reiser and the Concept of the Novel," p. 185.
- 163 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 167.
- 164 Schrimpf, "Moritz. 'Anton Reiser,'" p. 105.
- 165 Kaulen, "Erinnertes Leid," p. 139.

166 Philippe Lejeune, "Autobiography in the Third Person," New Literary History, 9 (1977), p. 29.

167 Lejeune, "Autobiography in the Third Person," p. 32.

168 Lejeune, "Autobiography in the Third Person," p. 32.

169 Boulby, At the Fringe of Genius, p. 40.

170 Hans Joachim Schrimpf, "Das 'Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde' und sein Herausgeber," Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, 99 (1980), p. 167.

171 Boulby, At the Fringe of Genius, p. 12.

172 Lothar Müller, Die kranke Seele und das Licht der Erkenntnis. Karl Philipp Moritz' 'Anton Reiser' (Frankfurt: Athenäum, 1987), p. 43.

173 Boulby, At the Fringe of Genius, p. 17, notes the dissolution of the double perspective into a single one: "The first of a number of similar passages, this moment at the gates of Brunswick provides a glimpse of the symbolic superstructure of Anton Reiser, for there is something about it which transcends the vision of the protagonist and belongs to the level of the autobiographical narrator."

174 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 153, p. 150.

175 Josef Grolimund, Das Menschenbild in den autobiographischen Schriften Karl Philipp Moritz' (Zürich: Juris Verlag, 1967), p. 25.

176 Boulby, At the Fringe of Genius, p. 7, says of the passage I have quoted: "This was in fact an austere teaching requiring even for its embryonic realisation a spiritual understanding far more subtly honed than the majority of its disciples possessed. What it recommended was an emptying of the soul, and a submission to the work of God within--a passivity both delicate and pure, incompatible with sloth, apathy or any form of hebetude." Minder, in Glaube, Skepsis und Rationalismus, p. 62, begins a section of explication of Guyon's beliefs as follows: "Unsere erste Aufgabe ist es zu zeigen, daß die Auffassung, die der alte J. G. Moritz vom Quietismus hatte, nicht einfach eine etwas vergrößerte Form davon bedeutet, sondern schlechthin ein grobes Mißverständnis ist."

177 Minder, Glaube, Skepsis und Rationalismus, p. 62: "Der Quietismus, wie ihn Lobenstein vertrat, ist übrigens von demjenigen des Reiserschen Vaterhauses durch seine calvinistische Tönung verschieden..."

- 178 Schrimpf, "Moritz. 'Anton Reiser,'" p. 108.
- 179 Niggel, Geschichte der deutschen Autobiographie, p. 70.
- 180 Schrimpf, Moritz. 'Anton Reiser,'" p. 108.
- 181 Unger, "Zur seelengeschichtlichen Genesis der Romantik," especially pp. 162-164.
- 182 Schrimpf, "Moritz. 'Anton Reiser,'" p. 119.
- 183 Boulby, At the Fringe of Genius, p. 11.
- 184 Schrimpf, "Moritz. 'Anton Reiser,'" p. 120.
- 185 Kaulen, "Erinnertes Leid," p. 146.
- 186 Ralph-Rainer Wuthenow, Das Bild und der Spiegel. Europäische Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert (München: Hanser, 1984), p. 54.
- 187 Langen, "Karl Philipp Moritz' Weg zur symbolischen Dichtung," especially p. 187; Boulby, At the Fringe of Genius, especially pp. 23-27. Pfothenhauer, "'Des ganzen Lebens anschauliches Bild,'" p. 330, writes, "Oft ist in der Moritz-Literatur gezeigt worden, wie das wiederkehrende Gefühl von Weite und Beengtheit, von Ausdehnung und Einschränkung etwa sich in der Natur versinnbildlicht," and cites Langes, Ghisler, and Müller as examples.
- 188 Boulby, At the Fringe of Genius, p. 24.
- 189 Boulby, "Gates of Brunswick," p. 111.
- 190 Schrimpf, "Moritz. 'Anton Reiser,'" p. 113.
- 191 Boulby, At the Fringe of Genius, p. 40, notes that "the gulf between Anton and his narrator is much wider than is usual in autobiography," but elsewhere (p. 17) observes that in Anton Reiser this gulf is sometimes bridged: "The first of a number of similar passages, this moment at the gates of Brunswick provides a glimpse of the symbolic superstructure of Anton Reiser, for there is something about it which transcends the vision of the protagonist and belongs to the level of the autobiographical narrator."
- 192 Boulby, At the Fringe of Genius, p. 23.
- 193 Boulby, "Gates of Brunswick," p. 110.
- 194 Boulby, At the Fringe of Genius, p. 47.

195 Ekehard Catholy, "Karl Philipp Moritz. Ein Beitrag zur 'Theatromanie' der Goethezeit," Euphorion 45 (1950), pp. 100-123, especially pp. 112-113.

196 Catholy, "Karl Philipp Moritz," p. 113.

197 Boulby, At the Fringe of Genius, p. 46.

198 Boulby, At the Fringe of Genius, p. 25: "The response to Shakespeare was typical enough; we see how the plays wrench Anton out of his melancholy and help to make him manic again." Also, p. 43: "By the age of twelve he was already, in the words of the novel, a depressive: 'ein völliger Hypochondrist.'" Also, Boulby, "Anton Reiser and the Concept of the Novel," p. 190: "In Anton Reiser Fortuna has been psychologised in the sense that the oscillations of the protagonist's feelings, which perhaps show manic depressive characteristics, are a primary source of external instability."

199 Schrimpf, "Karl Philipp Moritz," in Deutsche Dichter des 18ten Jahrhunderts, ed. Benno von Wiese (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1977), p. 903, sees Moritz's aesthetic as a reflection of his personal life: "Stellt man die dominierenden Kategorien der Moritzschen Ästhetik zusammen, so wird ihre anthropologische und sozialpsychologische Orientierung deutlich erkennbar: das in sich selbst Vollendete, das in sich selbst Zurückgewälzte, eigenmächtig für sich Bestehende, der geschlossene Kreis und sein Mittelpunkt...--das alles sind Bestimmungen, die dem beschädigten Selbstgefühl Anton Reisers, seinem Mangel an eigener Existenz, an einem inneren Schwerpunkt und zusammenhaltenden Mittelpunkt, die seiner Selbstentfremdung durch ein ständig getrenntes inneres und äußeres Leben, seiner Verwendung als Mittel zu fremden Nutzen, seiner in Passivität abgedrängten Empfindsamsfähigkeit gegenbildlich so genau entsprechen, daß die appellative Korrelation nicht zu verkennen ist. Das rigoristische Autonomie-Postulat der Moritzschen Ästhetik erscheint als eine emanzipatorische regulative Utopie." Boulby, At the Fringe of Genius, p. 175, takes an opposing view. After mentioning various aspects of Moritz's aesthetics, he comments: "To overstress the biographical relevance of all this would not only be superfluous, it would impair the quite genuine integrity of the aesthetic system here presented."

200 Erdmann Waniek, "Rousseau's Confessions and Moritz's Anton Reiser: Narrative Strategies for Presenting the Self," Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century, 192 (1980), p. 1313.

201 Ralph-Rainer Wuthenow, Das Bild und der Spiegel. Europäische Literatur um 18. Jahrhundert (München: Hanser, 1984), p. 55.

202 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 162.

203 Boulby, At the Fringe of Genius, p. 43.

204 Sölle, Realisation, p. 130.

205 Boulby, At the Fringe of Genius, p. 43: "We must observe en passant that sexual problems are scarcely alluded to in Moritz's analysis, and the avoidance of this whole field of human pathology is characteristic of his psychological writings in general....That Moritz's self analysis falters at this particular point is in itself a highly telling fact."

V. Conclusion

We will recall from our introductory chapter that the eighteenth-century was, according to most scholars, a critical period for both autobiography and individuality. Niggli refers to the eighteenth-century as "der gattungsgeschichtlich entscheidende Zeitraum" for autobiography.¹ Müller states that autobiography discovered "die Individualität" at the end of the eighteenth century,² and Weintraub agrees, arguing that "self-conception as an individual...evolved gradually in the Western world since the Renaissance,"³ but that "full convergence of all the factors constituting this modern view of the self occurred only at the end of the eighteenth century."⁴ Of decisive importance for the emergence of individuality is the turning away from the imitation of a predetermined ideal, commensurate with one's place in society, and the movement towards an acknowledgement and acceptance of the personal and idiosyncratic, that each person "represents one unique and unrepeatable form of being human."⁵ In Das erinnerte Ich - europäische Autobiographie und Selbstdarstellung im 18. Jahrhundert, Wuthenow describes the developments of this period in very similar terms: "Das sich emanzipierende Individuum...entwickelt in der Reflexion auf sich, sein Wollen, sein Handeln, seine Lage etwas Neues, was man seine Sub-

jektivität nennen kann. In Selbstdarstellung, Erinnerung und autobiographischer Vergewisserung zeichnet es sich, wie es sich erblickt und meint, daß es so sei: es repräsentiert seinem Selbstverständnis nach keinen Stand, sondern nur sich selbst, in sich aber die Menschheit."⁶ It has been our task to trace, in our nine autobiographies, the development of autobiography away from self-characterization based on social ranking or roles, and towards the presentation of the individual self. We may also recall during this turbulent period of history, which witnessed the side-by-side existence of widely-varied social structures, from petty absolutism to revolutionary republicanism, that no strict chronological order could be expected, according to which increasing depth and individuation could be mechanically deduced by a later publication date. Rather than standing in relation to each other in "kausaler Abhängigkeit einer historischen Reihe," these late eighteenth-century autobiographies represent a "nahezu gleichzeitige parallele Realisierung einer gemeinsamen Gattungsgesetzlichkeit"⁷. And in point of fact, the publication of the most primitive of our autobiographies, Peter Prosch's Leben und Ereignisse (1789) falls within one year of the publication of the final installment of the most sophisticated of them, Anton Reiser (Book IV, 1790), so the near simultaneity of vastly different self-presentations is indeed very apparent. And now that we have completed our analyses of all nine autobiographies, we can perhaps reiterate the most important points about them, as well as make some comparisons and contrasts.

The autobiography of the court jester, Peter Prosch, is by far the most one-dimensional and elementary of the nine autobiographies under study. Prosch reduces not only himself but others to their respective social roles. The descriptions of the reactions of his various princes and courtiers to his pranks are as unvarying as his descriptions of his own behavior, even though he is one person and his audience is made up of different persons at numerous courts. This is because within the courtly framework the behavior of everyone is rigidly codified according to social standing. To Niggel, Prosch's Leben und Ereignisse demonstrate "wie sehr in dieser Zeit ein Leben schon bis in seine literarisch-öffentliche Präsentation hinein von der konkreten Gesellschaftsstruktur bestimmt erscheinen kann,"⁸ and one has little trouble concurring with this judgement. In the context of our nine autobiographers, Prosch may be contrasted with Seume. Seume, the uncompromising outsider, languishes in poverty and obscurity; Prosch, with his golden wig, is gaped at "wie ein Wunderthier" by his fellow villagers, and prospers. But as we know, "er bezahlt mit seiner Person,"⁹ while Seume at least has the consolation of his personal integrity.

Brandes, on the other hand, may fairly be described as a 'poor man's Anton Reiser.' That is, the story of his youth emphasizes the dangers of fiction for immature and impressionable minds. But whereas Moritz's presentation of this problem in Anton Reiser opens the confused mind of the youthful protagonist to the reader

and presents him with a vivid picture of Anton's mental life, Brandes, after observing that "abenteuerliche Romane" (p. 23) fill his head with visions and inspire him to run away, later describes the misadventures of his truancy as so oppressive that it results only in "einer Art Betäubung" (p. 39) for the youthful protagonist. No detailed account of his delusions or the process of his overcoming them is made. Also contrasting with Moritz is Brandes' attitude towards the past. Moritz's Anton Reiser establishes a sense of selfhood based "in der Reihe seiner Erinnerungen an das Vergangene" (p. 227). Brandes does not seek to establish any connection between what he was and what he is now, but rather wishes for a clean break between the two: "So gewöhnte ich mich immer mehr an meine anständige Lebensart und sah mit Unwillen, Verachtung und Reue auf meinen ehemaligen wüsten Lebenswandel, so ich gleichsam durch die Welt gestürmt, keine wahren Freuden gekannt und meines Lebens wenig oder gar nicht genossen hatte, zurück" (p. 176). Wuthenow rightly speaks of Brandes' "Selbstverachtung."¹⁰ Devoid of a sense of personality developing through time, Brandes' self-presentation, particularly during his adult life, confines itself to his social role.

Much the same is the case of Schubart. Content to cast his present self in the role of penitent, he endeavors to throw over his past self "ein dichter Schleier des Vergessenwollens."¹¹ That is, he speaks of his past sinfulness only in terms of pallid generalities: "So bald mich aber die Welt zum Tanzen auf-

forderte, so stürzte ich leichtsinnig in ihre Reigen und vergaß in der Trunkenheit die fieberhaften Erschütterungen der Andacht" (I, p. 55). Thus, although Schubart criticizes "die Autobiographie...[die] oft diejenigen Umstände unterdrücken, die den Helden jüst am meisten heben und ihm so zu sagen seine Selbstheit geben würden" (I, p. 90), he does precisely this himself. Hence one is inclined to agree with Müller's judgement: "Im gattungsgeschichtlichen Kontext zeigt sich, daß der spezifisch autobiographische Antrieb nicht stark genug war, um die vorgegebenen traditionellen Darstellungsmuster zugunsten einer der Individualität gemäßen Form zu überwinden, obwohl die Intention darauf durchaus schon vorhanden war."¹² In temperament Schubart may be compared to Bahrdt. Both characterize themselves as "feurig," although Schubart's fieriness belongs mostly to the past, due to the fact that his term of imprisonment was much longer and harsher than was Bahrdt's.

The authors of the next group, Laukhard, Maimon and Seume, do not present themselves in terms of societal roles, for none of them ever attains a secure position in society. While they do not mold their self-characterization to fit a social role, their self-presentations all stress a single predominant characteristic. In the case of Laukhard this characteristic is ostensibly Leichtsinn, although covertly, on the strength of his historical and political analyses, Laukhard attempts to present himself to the reader as a Vernunftmensch, a man of reason. A critic has ob-

served that Laukhard appears in his autobiography "vor allem als Raisonneur und Historiograph,"¹³ and it is as such that he really wishes to be remembered, and not as a reckless youth - a facet of his personality he is nevertheless forced to present because of his largely unrealized didactic intentions. One might also add that it is inaccurate to say, as Wuthenow does, that Laukhard "verschwindet hinter den Ereignissen."¹⁴ Instead, somewhat like Seume, through the quality of his commentary on the events, he wishes to establish himself as a reasonable individual. Indeed Laukhard is in many ways similar to Seume: his intelligence is politically-oriented, like Seume's, but he is entirely lacking the strong ethical component (integrity) which is so central to Seume's self-characterization.

For Maimon the growth of the intellect is of central importance: "Im Grunde kennt sein Leben nur ein großes Ereignis, auf das hin er gelebt hat, von dem her er berichtet: seine geistige Wiedergeburt."¹⁵ Maimon's ability to reason analytically is the major characteristic emphasized in his autobiography. But as we saw in the course of our analysis of Maimon, his narration of his intellectual development does not adequately account for the origin of his desire for secular, non-religious knowledge. The yearning for scientific knowledge seems to exist in Maimon's youthful self a priori, an inexplicable phenomenon in light of the isolation and orthodoxy of his Polish-Jewish environment. Thus no account of any underlying reasons for the turn from

religious orthodoxy to the Enlightenment spirit of scientific inquiry can be given, for Maimon never explains why he, in contrast to everyone around him, is from his earliest years on receptive to profane knowledge. And despite his Moritz-like promise to pay attention to "geringfügig scheinende Vorfälle" (p. 236), Maimon's narration of "psychologische Begebenheiten," we recall, fails to exploit adequately the considerable psychological potential of some of the incidents. So despite the fact that Maimon was for a time co-editor of Das Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde, one must agree with Niggel, who notes "daß man...bei Maimon nicht von einer Nachfolge seines Freundes K. P. Moritz sprechen kann."¹⁶

Seume, like Laukhard, establishes himself with the reader on the strength of his commentary on events around him. We recall that the sympathetic reader among Seume's contemporaries, a critic observes, "wurde nicht so sehr durch den Gehalt des Berichteten wie durch die Individualität des Berichterstatters gefesselt."¹⁷ But unlike Laukhard, Seume does not have to make excuses for his behavior. He generally tries to follow the dictates of his conscience rather than to react according to the needs of the moment, as does Laukhard. Thus integrity is for Seume his main characteristic. This is particularly true of the last period of his life, when he ceases to attempt to accommodate himself to the social order--"um der persönlichen und intellektuellen Integrität willen auf alle Versuche einer sozialen Integration verzichtete,"

as one German critic writes.¹⁸ Nevertheless, Seume takes pains in his autobiography to establish that his ideal of integrity had been with him since his early years, even if "der Kampf eines jungen Menschen mit seinen Umständen" (II, p. 4) made it impossible for him to follow his conscience all the time. As Niggel has noticed, Seume's account of his earliest years is designed to reveal "die Entfaltung des...sittlich-geistigen Charakters,"¹⁹ just as the political commentaries are fashioned to reveal these same aspects of character. Thus the characteristic of integrity constitutes the informing spirit of Mein Leben as well as the autobiographical travelogues.

In the authors of the third group, Bahrdt, Bräker, and Moritz, we encounter autobiographers who are not content to identify one aspect of personality as the decisive factor in their character. Bahrdt, it will be recalled, is really little interested in his own psychology, but at least he manages to attribute to himself a number of leading characteristics, namely, Feuer and Dreistigkeit, Phantasie and Jovialität. But for the most part Bahrdt uses psychology as a weapon to turn upon other people, imputing to them elaborate and largely fictitious patterns of motive and behavior. Müller observes that another of Bahrdt's tactics is "eine außergewöhnliche Fülle an realistischem Detail, das den Schein der Wahrhaftigkeit auf die Erzählung als Ganze überträgt,"²⁰ but that his use of his detail lacks the finesse shown by Moritz: "Anders als bei Moritz sind die 'kleinscheinenden Umstände' nicht

immer psychologisch integriert, sondern behalten ihre eigenständige Bedeutung, ohne sich aus dem autobiographischen Kontext zu lösen."²¹ In other words he records many of the details of his life (weather, prices, etc.) but without recording the effect of these small things on his mind, the way Moritz uses detail in Anton Reiser.

Bräker's autobiography gives evidence of a more thorough examination of the self, but without coming to any firm conclusion: "zum Theil aber bin ich mir freylich noch immer ein seltsames Räthsel" (I, p. 317), observes the author towards the end of his Geständnisse. It will also be recalled that Bräker's Lebensgeschichte also suffers from some inconsistencies: sensuality is often referred to in the expository prose of the Geständnisse, but not depicted in the narrative account of his youth. Likewise in his confessions Bräker makes much of his unbridled imagination ("zügellose Einbildungskraft") in his youth, but within the narration the escapist imagination makes its appearance only in adulthood, when he seeks refuge from day-to-day cares and worries. Bräker takes a conscious pleasure in remembering the past, and to Niggel this is of decisive significance for the place of this autobiography in the history of the genre. For Niggel, "die eigentliche gattungsgeschichtliche Bedeutung" consists of the fact "daß sich der Erzähler...der eigenen Erinnerungsfreude bewußt wird," and that in this way the work reveals "den Einfluß der Empfindsamkeitsbewegung auch auf die autobiographische Gat-

tung."²² However, Bräker seems unable or unwilling to connect the past and the present. Rather, the past is presented as "Gegenwelt zur erlittenen Gegenwart."²³

In approaching Moritz and Anton Reiser's struggle for selfhood a final time, it may be helpful to point out that the modern structuralists, post-structuralists, and deconstructionists (referred to in Chapter I, pp. 14-16) were not the first to wonder if the self was not a fiction. David Hume, in A Treatise of Human Nature (1739-1740), argued that the notion of self was grounded in a fixity which was largely illusory: "If any impression gives rise to the idea of self, that impression must continue invariably the same, throughout the whole course of our lives; since self is supposed to exist after that manner."²⁴ In reality the situation is different: "But there is no impression constant and invariable."²⁵ Hume speculates that people may conceive of selves, but in reality "they are nothing but a bundle or collection of different perceptions, which succeed each other with an inconceivable rapidity, and are in continual flux and movement."²⁶ Clearly, this is similar to Anton's dread of "das Momentane, Alltägliche und Zerstückte" (p. 99), the fragmenting march of time which Boulby describes as "an infinite succession of moments of servitude, which defy the formation of any whole and persisting self."²⁷ In our analysis of Anton Reiser, we have seen how the protagonist manages to overcome this fragmentation with a vision of synthesis, with the insight that past and

present form a whole: "der gegenwärtige Moment beschränkte sein Dasein nicht--sondern er faßte alles das wieder mit, was schon entschwunden war" (p. 362). In this way Moritz achieves a comprehensive vision of individual existence not attained by our other autobiographers. This conception of his individuality is Moritz's response to a seemingly indifferent cosmos: "Only in the molding of a single life...can Moritz suggest an answer to the problem of the grip of history upon the individual and group."²⁸

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER V

- 1 Niggli, Geschichte, p. 118.
- 2 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 124: "Daß unter diesen Umständen überhaupt eine Annäherung der Gattungen [Autobiographie und Roman] stattfinden konnten, liegt daran, daß die Autobiographie erst am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts recht eigentlich entdeckte, was seither ihr Gegenstand ist: die Individualität."
- 3 Weintraub, "Autobiography and Historical Consciousness," p. 841.
- 4 Weintraub, The Value of the Individual, p. xv.
- 5 Weintraub, "Autobiography and Historical Consciousness," p. 839.
- 6 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 41.
- 7 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 129.
- 8 Niggli, Geschichte, p. 89.
- 9 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 159.
- 10 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 164.
- 11 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 49.
- 12 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 46.
- 13 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 194.
- 14 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 178.
- 15 Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich, p. 109.
- 16 Niggli, Geschichte, p. 142.
- 17 Pikulik, "Johann Gottfried Seume," in Deutsche Dichter des 18ten Jahrhunderts, ed. Benno von Wiese (Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1977), p. 977. The whole sentence reads: "Wer seine Reiseberichte damals las, wurde offenbar nicht so sehr durch den Gehalt des Berichteten wie durch die Individualität des Berichtserstatters gefesselt." As evidence for this assertion, Pikulik quotes a

letter of April 13, 1808, of a certain Therese Huber to Göschen:
"So wünschten wir auch Seumes Bekanntschaft zu machen, dessen
Reise im Norden uns das höchste Interesse für seine Individuali-
tät einflößte." [Planer Reißmann, p. 583]

- 18 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 208.
- 19 Niggel, Geschichte, p. 151.
- 20 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 240.
- 21 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 240.
- 22 Niggel, Geschichte, p. 83.
- 23 Müller, Autobiographie und Roman, p. 174.
- 24 David Hume, A Treatise of Human Nature (London: Dent, 1964), p. 238.
- 25 Hume, Treatise, p. 238.
- 26 Hume, Treatise, p. 239.
- 27 Boulby, At the Fringe of Genius, p. 47.
- 28 Boulby, At the Fringe of Genius, p. 27.

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